THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

April 16, 1949

BACKWARD AREAS

AN EDITORIAL

A West China Notebook

Lynn Chase and Amos Landman

Dead End In Asia

Andrew Roth

Siam: Cockpit Of Interests

H. C. K. Woddis

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AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 113 GY10,000 NUMBER 7

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

American Aid

To The Editor:

I have read the article "A Chinese View of American Aid" in the March 19 issue of the *Review* and strongly support the stand taken by Mr. C. Y. W. Meng. I should say it represents the views of millions of our people.

The US is failing in its policy toward China, and we oppose any military aid program "to prolong our civil war." As Mr. Meng pointed out, there are very few expressions of gratitude from the eaters of ECA rice, and Mr. Lapham's proposal for new aid to the "Nationalists" was unanimously opposed by professors, peace-sponsors and even some legislators.

During the past ten years China has been a semi-feudal country. As vivid as any picture is its personal regime, corrupt dictatorship and the misery of its people. We Chinese would only welcome American aid that would really help to bring about democracy, freedom, equality and a new China.

Y. C. CHEN.

Taiwei, Taiwan
April 4, 1949

Christian Writes

To The Editor:

I am a Christian living in Wusih. I am also a *Review* reader. The article, "Christian Missions in China" in the April 2 *Review* helped me understand many things which have been puzzling me for a long time. But I wonder about the point that preachers are too much in favor of maintaining the status quo and individualism, for in China today, in many small towns, the churches are not prosperous.

In my mind the whole problem of the relation between the churches and the revolution is full of contradictions and it is difficult to obtain a balanced view. I wonder if you could ask the author of this article to write something more on the problem, for I am certain that there are many Christians like myself who need help on how to be a Christian in the future.

ANDREW YUE

Wusih
April 4, 1949

Supports Premier Ho

To The Editor:

I was very interested in reading your introduction to our new premier, Ho Ying-chin, in the March 26 issue of the *Review*.

It was reported that General Ho, when the Young Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek in 1936, wanted to bomb Sian where the Generalissimo was being held, but that he was dissuaded from doing so. I personally think Ho was blameless as far as this incident was concerned.

General Ho, it will be remembered, has always been against the Communists since he assumed the post of Minister of Military Affairs in 1930. The famous assault on the Chinese New Fourth Army

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was ordered by him. He was later sent abroad when General George C. Marshall was attempting to mediate between the Nationalists and the Communists, for there was a feeling that Ho was blocking efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement. However, many people are convinced that General Ho underwent a change of heart while he was abroad. His speeches abroad were tinged with a slightly leftist coloring.

After his return to China, General Ho remained inactive for a period until the time came when he was asked by Acting President Li Tsung-jen to become premier. Immediately after General Ho's appointment, there was much talk about injecting new blood into the Nationalist Government. Although there has been much speculation as to whether or not he could successfully open peace talks with the Communists, I still trust and support him fully and believe that under his guidance the peace-loving cabinet will negotiate a conclusion to the Civil War.

WONG SZE-LIANG

Shanghai
April 2, 1949

No More Surrenders

To The Editor:

We remember that after our victory over Japan, General Ho Ying-Chin was sent to represent China at the surrender for which he received considerable prestige from the people and received attention from the world.

Now when cries of "Prepare for war if you want peace" are bandied about, General Ho has formed a new cabinet.

It is hard to tell what General Ho will do but it does not seem likely that he will be receiving any more surrenders.

BUTCHER CHIA

Shouyung, Hunan
March 27, 1949

Foreign Postage

To The Editor:

With reference to the letter from Mr. Loo Shih-cheng published in the March 26 issue of your esteemed *Review* under the caption "Foreign Postage," I have to inform you that the tariff of International Postage is based upon the rates stipulated in the Universal Postal Convention, and the foreign airmail postage is fixed according to the transit charges paid to the Aviation companies by the Post Office. As both are calculated on a foreign currency basis, the postage rates on foreign mail are collected in Gold Yuan converted according to the rates of the Foreign Exchange Clearance Certificates, published in the daily newspapers. Owing to the frequent fluctuations of such rates, the Post Office is compelled to adjust its tariff of International postage in order to avoid undue losses sustained by it.

I shall appreciate it if you will kindly publish this letter in your esteemed journal for the information of Mr. Loo Shih-cheng as well as the public in general.

WANG YU-KUANG
Director of Posts

Shanghai
April 9, 1949

Students Sympathize

To The Editor:

It was a sad surprise to read about the incident involving the injured students in Nanking. According to the *Ta Kung Pao*, the fight started when the demonstrating students staged the famous "Yangko" dance in the streets, infuriating idle Nationalist soldiers with whom they then clashed. Although no

casualties were reported among the soldiers, a number of students were injured, and at least one killed.

What kind of democracy is this that the Government talks about? By what law was the demonstration forbidden? Yes, the martial law signed by the Government does not permit demonstrations, but is this law right? Incidents like the above have the sympathy of the entire student body of China.

K. K. C.

Soochow
April 5, 1949

Words And Deeds

To The Editor:

The Nanking student incident shows that realization of the word democracy is very different from just saying it. On the surface, acting President Li Tsung-jen makes efforts to stop the Civil War, but the Government is still killing peace loving students with its secret fifth column. It is high time that the Government revealed that it is using the peace talks as a mask unless it accepts Mao Tze-tung's eight terms.

Y. Y. T.

Chinkiang, Kiangsu
April 4, 1949

Anti-Christianism

To The Editor:

Following the Nanking student incident, there has been a sharp conflict between the Christian and non-Christian students at National Central University. The latter accuse the former of taking a cold attitude toward the incident.

As a result, the "Democracy Wall" at the university is covered with a number of anti-religious slogans. Although I am not a Christian, I should like to report some of them to your Christian readers. Here are a few:

What is the Holy Spirit? It is the symbol of selfishness.

God is the other name of backwardness.

Could your God give us bread and peace?

What nonsense—God created man! It is man who created God.

We do not want God. We want science and democracy.

You Christians believe in the existence of God, but we don't. How can you be called men, since you lack a sense of justice and sympathetic hearts, living on others' blood and sweat, fooling the oppressed masses with poisonous doctrines, asking favors of the ruling masters and helping the reactionary Government to suppress the revolution of the people? The religious period is gone. This is the time of the people!

Y. C. LI.

Nanking
April 9, 1949

Peace Talks

To The Editor:

In connection with the peace talks I would like to make the following proposal to the Government and the Communists:

While war can break out at any time when two contesting parties or one agree to wage war, peace is different. The differences between men and nations will always remain. As a matter of fact, within reasonable limits, such disagreements are actually wholesome. All progress begins with differences of opinion and moves forward as the differences are adjusted through reason and mutual understanding. Peace is, therefore, a mutual agreement which must be faith-

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fully and sincerely adhered to by the two parties concerned. Such agreement must depend upon the mutual efforts directed by the parties towards the conclusion of a peaceful arrangement for that purpose.

Many years of war have drained the life of the nation. We want the KMT and the CP to negotiate and explore all means to bring peace to China. The great task of keeping the country in a state of peace and order and leading the country towards modernization is on the shoulders of both parties.

Both the Government and the Communists should remember the Chinese sayings: "The people are the foundation of the country" and "Those who obey the opinions of the people will succeed and those who do not, will fail."

JAMES CHIA

Soochow
April 2, 1949

Chen Yi Detention

To The Editor:

The following is my translation of an article carried in the *Hunan Daily News* of March 17th, entitled, "Why Chen Yi was Detained":

"Though the reasons for Chen Yi's being dismissed from his post as Governor of Chekiang Province are many, the main one is that he has lost the confidence of President Chiang Kai-shek. Ever since last winter when Tsinan fell into the hands of the Communists and an investigation was made as to why it fell, Chen has been in Chiang's bad graces. After General Wang Yao-wu was taken prisoner, some of the legislators in Nanking....went so far as to demand that President Chiang step down, as the fault was his. Chen Yi was called to Nanking and questioned, and among other questions put to him, Chiang Kai-shek, to test his loyalty, asked him what he thought of the legislators' demand. Chen Yi answered, 'A statesman's merit or demerit will be judged by future historians. It is better for him to be frank and straight in all his dealings.'

"This caused Chiang Kai-shek much displeasure.

"When the Communists issued their first list of war criminals, Chen, replying to newsmen of Hangchow who asked his opinion, said: '.....what do you think should come first in our considerations, the lives and property of the 43 war criminals, or the welfare of the 470,000,000 *lao pai hsing*?'

"Again, when asked if the capital of Chekiang would be moved, he countered with, 'Why move it? Where are we going to move it?'

"When Chiang heard these two conversations, he was outraged. At the time when peace was being sought through making preparations for war, Chiang thought, it was impossible that Chen, one of the big shots in the Government, should have been so stupid as not to know what effect his absurd remarks would create. Probably he had some ends of his own; he was no longer reliable.

"Not long after, when Chiang had stepped down and Li Tsung-jen had become the acting president, the latter issued an order to release all political prisoners, with a view to showing his sincerity toward peace. Again Chen Yi took the order seriously, and bailed out five arrested students of Chekiang University. When Chen Yi went to Chikow to see President Chiang, Chiang asked, 'Do you know something of the arrogance of the Che Ta boys?' and Chen replied, 'Yes, I know of it.' 'Why didn't you do something about it, then?' Chiang questioned. 'The more you meddle in their affairs, I am afraid, the more they will become troublesome,' Chen said. 'If you don't meddle, do you think they will cease to make trouble?' asked Chiang. 'At least, I have succeeded in avoiding serious troubles during my tenure of office so far,' Chen Yi replied.

"As the conversation went on, President Chiang's temper grew shorter, until at last he could no longer control himself. He struck his hand on the table, roaring, 'Obey me, and you shall keep your post; or else, pack up and get away with you.'

"When Chen Yi told his friends of this unhappy scene afterwards, he was all grumbles. 'It is better for me to get away now,' he said. 'If I try to hang on any longer, maybe there will be no chance in the future for me to get away at all.'

"Another thing worth mentioning here is the disagreement between Chen Yi and King Yung-hsiang, Manager of the Central Bank in Hangchow and concurrently Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Hangchow Chamber of Commerce. The story is this: Some of the merchants of Hangchow, in order to evade taxes, had often made false reports of their capital. When Jen Hsien-chun became the mayor of that city, he was greatly dissatisfied with this condition. He sent his men frequently to make investigations of the various shops. King wanted to 'protect' his fellow businessmen, and therefore came into direct conflict with Mayor Jen. When Chen heard of this, he called King to him, scolded him severely, and deprived him of the title of Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Hangchow Chamber of Commerce.

Having been insulted thus, King went to his boss, a certain big shot, to complain. The big shot, greatly offended with Chen for having ill-treated his henchman, went immediately to see President Chiang. By speaking evil of Chen in every way he could, he succeed-

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ed in rousing Chiang's rage to such an extent that the president decided to dismiss Chen Yi at once, without even bothering to consult with his most trusted subordinates. So Chen was unaware of his having been dismissed until Chow Yen's appointment as the new governor of Chekiang was made public.

"After Chen had been dismissed, President Chiang still felt uneasy. His suspicion pained him so much that at last he ordered Chen Yi to be detained. According to some Shanghai papers, Chen Yi was sent to Chuchow, his place of detainment, by a certain general. He is now leading a secluded life there."

P. T. JEN

Hengshan, Hunan
March 19, 1949

Will Share Review

To The Editor:

Ever since the unfreezing of the August 19 price levels, commodity prices have been soaring day by day so furiously that they are beyond our reach and the result is that the living standard of the common people has descended to a record low. Both school-teachers and students, with their salaries and subsidies lagging far behind, are unable to find a way to keep body and soul together, let alone subscribe to magazines and newspapers.

In spite of being a subscriber to your magazine for only three months, I find in your readers' columns many requests for free subscriptions. These seem to be usually either from underpaid school-teachers or poverty-stricken students for whom these days even textbooks are luxuries. However, these people are fond of the straight views published in your magazine, and their ardent desire for the truth prompts their appeals for your help.

I am extremely sympathetic with these people and with a view to helping them to some extent, I have decided to share my *Review*. Would you, dear editor, introduce me to one of these friends? If possible, I will send him my copy every week as soon as I have finished it and he may return it to me after he has read it.

K. C. LIANG

I-chun, Kiangsi
March 27, 1949

(Reader Liang will be put in touch with one of the persons on our waiting list for free copies—Editor.)

Canton Strike

To The Editor:

One hundred seventy-six professors at National Sun Yat-sen University went on strike on March 25 to demand an improvement in their living conditions. This is the first time that any professors in Canton have struck since VJ Day. In this respect, I believe Canton's professors have been more patient than those in Peiping and Shanghai, who have more than once used the strike weapon to protest against irregularities. But things have reached such a pass that even the Canton professors could endure their sufferings no longer.

In an open letter to the public, these professors disclosed that they had repeatedly appealed to the various authorities concerned. Under present inflationary conditions, their monthly salary, the equivalent of HK$30, is hardly sufficient to support one person, let alone an entire family.

I was deeply moved to learn that the students are doing a great deal to show their sympathy for their professors. They fasted for a whole day and saved some 2,000 catties of rice to be contributed to the professors, and they have been gathering firewood, carrying water and doing other odd jobs to help the teachers. Such acts of genuine sympathy present a sharp contrast to the Government's apathy.

H. K.

Hoiping, Kwangtung
March 31, 1949

Why No Reporters?

To The Editor:

According to the newspapers, the Communists have refused to let either Chinese or foreign reporters be present at the peace talks in Peiping.

My opinion is that the main reason for this must be that the Communists don't want to have the conditions in Peiping made known to persons on the outside. In that case, I can't but doubt the administration of the so-called liberated areas. If Peiping is as good as the Communists say, why don't they welcome reporters there?

H. P. TIEN.

First Army, Sian
April 2, 1949

News From Peiping

To The Editor:

Recently, my sister, who is in Peiping, wrote me saying, "Peiping has fallen into the hands of the Communists. Many beautiful buildings are empty. The former officials of Peiping have made their way to Hongkong and Canton, a few even going as far as America. The people left in Peiping, except for a few, are as poor as church mice. Of course, there is no need for them to escape and most of them have shown no sign that they have any intention of leaving Peiping."

My sister reported further that prices are no longer skyrocketing, and, indeed, that prices have been forced down on various commodities by the Communists. All youth of school age are able to receive a free education and daily necessities are provided for them. Such news surprises me very much. I have never heard of such a thing in China since I was born. I would rather study in Peiping than in Szechuen, where we have to pay thousands of GY to stay in school.

Y. D. C.

Tzeliutsing, Szechuen
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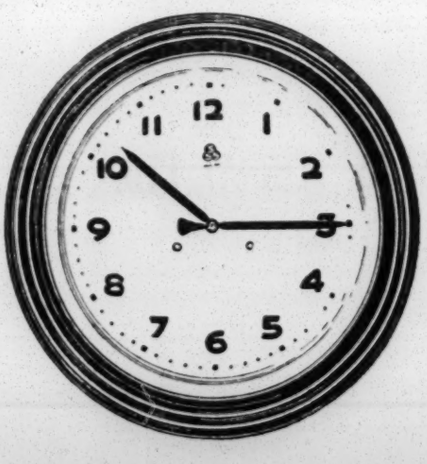

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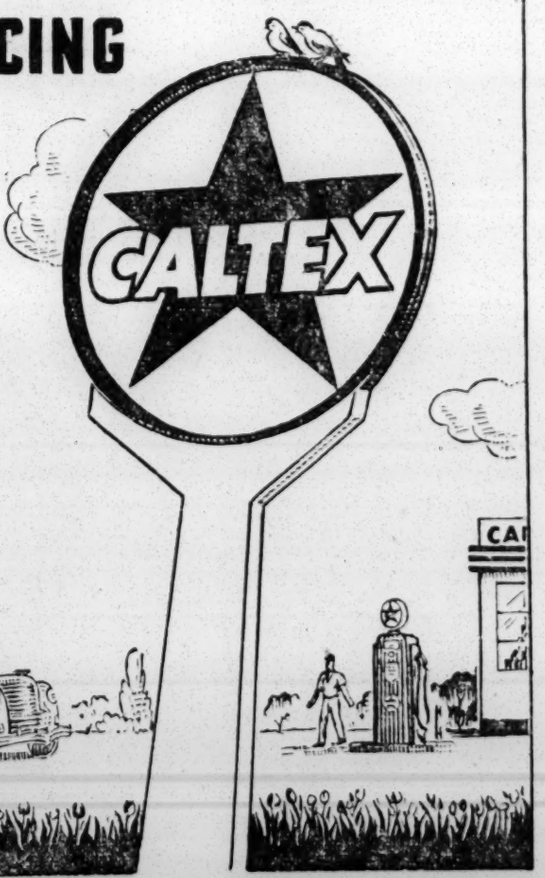

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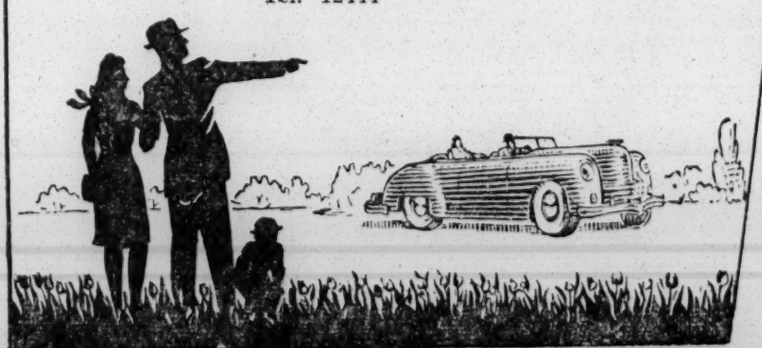

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

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Backward Areas

AS we have mentioned in these columns before, the problem of the "backward areas" has been coming up for more attention recently in Western capitals. In Paris, for example, sudden concern is felt for the pitiable economic state of Indo-China and other French colonial possessions. London, likewise, is worried about the lack of development in the African territories controlled by Great Britain.

All of this concern would be more touching were it not for the fact that it is such a recent development. In days past, when all one had to worry about were the recurring economic depressions and occasional wars between the various colonial powers, little attention was paid to development of "backward" areas. Such regions were usually prevented from attaining any worthwhile degree of industrial or other economic development so that they would fit easily into the old pattern of colonial exploitation for the benefit of the home economy.

One does not have to be a devotee of Marxism to understand the role the subject colonies played in the development of trade and industry among the leading capitalist countries of Europe. Capitalism, as we know it today, got its beginnings in the industrial revolution. After industrialization had reached a certain degree, the factory owners of Europe found that they must develop markets abroad in which they could sell finished products if they wanted their business to expand and prosper. In brief, they came up against the problem of an oversupply for the home market because of the low purchasing power of the people. Unless new markets abroad were found, a depression at home resulted.

Realization of this simple economic fact led to the great rush for colonies. After all available areas had been grabbed by the competing powers, it was inevitable that they would fight among themselves in an effort to secure some of the other nations' colonial holdings. These were the reasons behind the scramble for colonies, not, as was so often proclaimed, a high-minded desire to bring Christianity or public health to unenlightened natives.

Since colonies were to serve the function of export market for finished products and source of supply for industrial raw materials or food, it was obvious that the Western powers were not interested in developing these backward areas. The American Revolution started largely because the colonialists knew full well that they were getting a raw deal from their masters in England. It was common practice for colonial powers to pass laws forbidding the erection of factories in colonies. Actually, the ruling nations were not only unconcerned about the lack of development in colonial areas, but did everything within their power to *prevent* any such development.

When the limits of the market had been reached in colonial areas, the old problem of oversupply again became apparent and depressions continued. In recent years, a new development in the relationship between colonies and the ruling powers took place. Many European businessmen found that if they moved part of their industrial establishment to a colonial area, they could earn a profit even during depression years because of the small operation costs. In this way, China, a semi-colonial country, became the field for considerable foreign investment. Thus Shanghai, which lacks many of the requirements for a large textile industry, became a major textile center anyway. If English mills, especially during depression years when the market experienced a great shrinkage, could not sell their products in India or China because the materials cost too much, it still was possible for mills owned by Englishmen—but established in Shanghai where labor was practically free—to operate at a profit.

Thus many English mill owners found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. They wanted the manufacturing process conducted in England so that the latter country could reap the reward for the labor, but at the same time they found that frequently they could do better financially if they established their mills in the backward areas.

The immediate result of the establishment of foreign-owned factories in backward areas was to open the eyes of the wealthy natives who desired to follow the lead of the westerners. In China, there developed a small industrial class of Chinese who opened factories to compete with English, American, German, and Japanese outfits. The foreign powers attempted to throttle this competition by placing obstacles in the way of the native industrialists. This was accomplished largely via the unequal treaties which exempted foreign business in China from Chinese control. Chinese industrialists, meanwhile, always at the mercy of local gangsterism and passing warlords, found it extremely difficult to compete. In the colonies, the foreign powers usually nipped native competition in the bud by simply forbidding the establishment of extensive industrial works by natives.

However, once again a new development has risen to upset the old balance. Revolution has broken out in the backward areas of Asia. All

such movements have a strong nationalistic flavor, but some are also developing along class lines. In semi-colonial, semi-feudalistic China a Communist rebellion has succeeded to the extent of forcing a corruption-ridden and wholly inefficient nationalist regime to sue for peace. In Indo-China a revolutionary coalition front composed of nationalists and communists has about kicked the French overlords out of the country. In Indonesia, a pure nationalist movement—having split with and suppressed its communist supporters—is carrying on the struggle. In Malaya, a Communist-flavored revolt is in full swing, while in Burma, which, like China, might be called semi-colonial, the nationalists and communists, plus an autonomous-minded minority group, are engaged in a three ring circus.

Perhaps this new development is more easily understood in China. Here, the native group which originally opposed the foreign powers who sold manufactured goods and bought raw materials is now attempting to enlist the support of these very same foreigners in the internal class struggle. So long as the Chinese Communists were a force scarcely to be reckoned with, the native nationalists fought the foreign imperialists. Attacks upon the unequal treaties were constant. However, now that the Communists have succeeded in rallying the oppressed peasantry and are on the point of driving out the nationalists or at least getting them under control, the latter are turning to their old enemies and requesting support.

As things have turned out, it is not the principal colonial powers whose aid is being sought, but that of the United States. This is merely because the leading colonial powers, Britain, France, and Germany, have fought among themselves so extensively that they are no longer in a position to give aid. The United States, although not a colonial power in the strict sense of the word, does operate pretty much upon the same economic principles as the European colonial powers and therefore reacts similarly when it sees a market in process of being eliminated or controlled by its own inhabitants to such an extent that "free" or privileged trade is no longer possible.

* * *

WITH this background on relations between the "developed" and "undeveloped" countries of the world, it is particularly interesting to read the press agency stories from London, Paris, Washington, and other capitals of the "developed" world telling of the great concern that is felt for the inhabitants of the backward areas.

Aside from a plaintive wail or two from Paris where the ruling group would like to have Indo-China considered a backward area in need of development, providing, of course, that the money comes from America or some place other than France, the concensus seems to be that Africa is the main undeveloped area in need of economic aid. Perhaps the reason is that the "dark" continent is considered the least advanced politically and therefore may be exploitable for a while longer than other colonial areas where the natives, although living in undeveloped physical surroundings, have become entirely too well developed politically.

All this talk of development, it seems, stems from the late President Roosevelt who had an ambitious and praiseworthy scheme for improving the economic status of all backward areas and for moving populations around so as to relieve pressure on some areas and provide sufficient manpower for development of sparsely populated areas. However, it now seems that Roosevelt's plan is to be dusted off so that it can complement the Truman Doctine, the Marshall Plan, and the Atlantic Pact. The present idea is to use American money, materials, and know-how in an effort to expedite the exploitation of Africa in the interests of the European colonial powers with whom the US wishes to align herself for the next war.

If left to her own devices, the US might rush in without due consideration and upset the apple cart. At least that seems to be the opinion in London. The British, who are nobody's fools, have learned a lesson in Asia where a rich empire is slowly slipping out of their grasp. While they want Africa developed so that a substitute source of revenue may be secured, they do not wish to do anything which might cause the Africans to begin thinking along the same lines as their Asiatic counterparts.

A recent *Associated Press* dispatch from London sheds interesting light on this point:

"A political planner in the colonial office believes Britain probably will have to let go its East African colonies within 25 or 30 years, even in the best circumstances. The same thing, he believes, will happen even sooner on the West African Gold Coast, where political riots have already taken place. This same attitude is reflected in the colonial section of Britain's new four-year plan for recovery submitted to the organization for European economic cooperation.

"If investment is 'pushed too far or too fast,' the plan statement said, 'it would give rise to conditions that have the gravest consequences to social welfare and stability.' In short, there are agitators who could profit from inciting Africans with talk of 'exploitation by capitalist imperialists.' If development schemes are carried out in a way to make this seem partly logical to the workmen, riots and rebellion are likely to wreck the best laid plans."

There it is in a nutshell. Faced with the combined threat of a loss of revenue from straight exploitation of Asiatic colonies and the closure of normal markets by an embittered native populace, the European powers, whose whole way of life at home is built upon the colonial system, are both anxious and scared to develop new markets in Africa. With the lesson learned in Asia behind them they are conscious that economic development inevitably leads to loss of political naivete on the part of the natives, and

thus are fearful lest such development result in an early loss of these last colonies in Africa.

The colonial powers, refusing to see the handwriting upon the wall which tells them in unmistakable terms that the days of colonialism are over, are rapidly becoming enmeshed in more and more economic contradictions. Weakened by wars among themselves and loss of revenue from Asiatic colonies, they are too poor to undertake development of the world's last available colonial region over which they exercise physical control. They have turned to America for aid, offering to split the profits if Uncle Sam will supply the necessary tools for exploitation. It will be interesting to see if the United States is really foolish enough to finance this last hopeless adventure of governments whose thinking has not changed for the past two centuries.

* * *

The Democratic Life

Seventy-year-old Yang Ju Sam, first Korean Methodist bishop, was arrested last night by a special police force for allegedly collaborating with the Japanese..... Arrest of Yang (a YMCA director in Seoul) was interpreted here as indication of a behind the scenes political tug-of-war being waged between President Rhee and a group of national assembly delegates who are in control of 'a special police force.'... The special police force, informed observers here believe, is a political tool to throttle opposition.....—*United Press* dispatch from Seoul, Korea, on March 29.

Yang can at least take comfort in the fact that he is living in Southern Korea, a democracy endorsed by the United States, and not in Northern Korea, a Moscow-dominated concentration camp where the people's freedoms are ruthlessly suppressed.

Reds Drive For Production

THE Chinese Communists, according to their radio broadcasts, are currently engaged in an all-out drive to increase production in all lines. A propaganda campaign designed to impress upon individual workers and peasants the great need for more materials has been launched. It is explained that the country needs more food, more consumer goods, more capital products and that these things can be secured only through increased effort. Every opportunity is used to impress upon the individuals that since they are now working for themselves, they should work harder.

Aside from appeals to patriotism, many concrete measures designed to increase production have been adopted. A labor emulation campaign has been inaugurated. Workers are told of the fine work done in such and such a factory or rural district and asked to enter into competition in an effort to set a new production mark. Contests between individual workers in the same organization are mapped out, with prizes for the winners. In addition to these devices, a very basic inducement has been offered—higher pay. Workers are told that their income will go up correspondingly with all production they achieve above a certain norm.

Encouragement is given to those who think of methods to improve techniques which result in increased production or in labor saving. In some areas workshops or laboratories have been set up for the express purpose of designing new tools. Numerous new farm and factory implements, it is said, have already been developed.

It, is, of course, far too early to be able to judge the success of this program or even to make an estimate of how much production can be increased or what such an increase would mean to the national economy. However, it is possible to see the basic common sense behind the whole campaign. China is a very poor and undeveloped country and if she is to make any great steps toward increasing her wealth and thereby raising the overall standard of living, it must come from the hard work of the Chinese people.

It is true that the mere ending of the Civil War will result in vast improvement. The demobilization of soldiers and their return to productive work, the elimination of the "exploiter class," especially from rural areas, inauguration of efficient and honest government, development of a sound system of taxation, and so on will result in a vast improvement.

How great these advances will be it is difficult to tell with any exactitude, but it is possible to get an estimate of the extent to which China's economy has slipped in recent years. According to Dr. Ou Pao-san, of the Academia Sinica, China's national income has been falling year by year since 1936. His estimate puts China's national income in 1946 at 25 percent below the 1936 figure. This is a sizeable drop, especially when one considers that the national income was rising steadily in the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Presumably, China has not only sustained an actual 25 percent drop in income during the decade 1936-46, but has lost even more if one were to presume that during this period income might have been increasing yearly had it not been for the war with Japan and the Civil War which followed.

Once the return to "normalcy" takes place following the end of fighting, the percentage-wise increase of national income will be a slow affair considering that China must start very nearly from scratch. However, if the Communists are able to keep up the spirit of the people, through measures such as those mentioned in the foregoing, there is no reason why the country cannot develop an ever-expanding income which, barring future setbacks such as wars or other national calamities, can theoretically reach a stage where everyone's legitimate wants and needs can be met.

If the Communists are able to carry out such a program, they will have succeeded in doing something which no other Chinese government has been able to accomplish, or, for that matter, even to contemplate.

An UNRRA Ghost

THE Board of Trustees for Rehabilitation Affairs (BOTRA), a post-UNRRA organization set up to supervise the liquidation of certain unused supplies which UNRRA willed to China before its demise, has lodged a protest with the Executive Yuan over the requisitioning of these supplies by military personnel.

Such arbitrary action, BOTRA pointed out, is in direct contravention of the agreement signed between the Chinese Government and the United Nations which specified that no relief and rehabilitation supplies granted China by UNRRA were to be used for military purposes. According to the BOTRA protest, Nationalist troops in recent weeks have been helping themselves to the organization's stockpiles. Some one and a half million board feet of lumber have been confiscated. An additional 450,000 cubic feet of sand and 797,300 cubic feet of stone have been carted off by local troops. Besides constituting a violation of the Chinese Government's treaty obligations, the loss is, BOTRA alleges, crippling some of its programs. The lumber, for example, had already been allotted to the Fisheries Rehabilitation Administration for junk building.

It is, of course, always discouraging to see materials designed for productive purposes swallowed and digested—apparently without any observable benefits whatsoever—by the Government's roving hordes of soldiery. However, in this specific case there is a certain ironical touch. For three years the Chinese people have been waiting for BOTRA to start disgorging some materials. Now, it seems, these materials are finally being put to some use, even though it may be non-productive. Perhaps we are being a little unfair to BOTRA since its dismal record has been in part the result of circumstances beyond its control. The whole Fisheries Rehabilitation Administration fiasco, we understand, is almost entirely attributable to the selfish interests of the local fish market and fish guild, which have a powerful local protector whose authority apparently cannot be successfully challenged. Shanghailanders have been forced to go without fish or buy them at outrageous prices because the market and guild prefer to operate in an economy of scarcity.

A combination of factors consisting of opposition from various vested interest groups, such as the fish guild in Shanghai, corrupt rural magistrates who demanded their "squeeze" from rural improvement programs, landlords who resented any imported ideas or materials which might tend to upset the old feudal relationship between master and servant, and an astounding inability to function efficiently as an organization have made BOTRA much more of a failure than a success.

Now that it is reported that Chinese troops are appropriating materials, many of which have lain in the weather for the past three years because of BOTRA's inability to put them to use, the final curtain may be rung down on BOTRA, as it was on UNRRA, which wound up its affairs and ceased existence just recently in New York. In any event, it is hardly likely that the Communists or the new coalition regime will be willing to support any of the bureaucratic leftovers, although it is likely that going concerns such as the National Agricultural Engineering Corporation will continue and possibly will receive even more encouragement than in the past.

25 Years Ago in *The China Weekly Review*

April 12, 1924

Any Hope For Szechuen?

There is at least one measure of comfort for us as we look out upon the unfolding of the perennial flower of hope. There has been so little to justify hope, and the flower has been so often rudely blighted, that even if we are doomed again to disappointment, no one will lose very much sleep as a result of the nerve strain we have endured during the past five years with the anxiety we felt during the Great Revolution, at which time there was no fighting compared with what we now expect. We cannot but smile at the philosophic manner in which we now hear of "wars and rumors of war."

So we may as well play at the game of hope instead of indulging in an evening's "pleasure" over majongg which pastime might meet with the wrath of the Chief of Police who still needs funds. Whenever we order a consignment of goods from Shanghai, or even Chungking, it is as good as a game of chance, for the exhilaration in watching the slow progress of the native junks as they crawl slowly by the "perils" by water—perils by robbers—perils by the countrymen cannot be beaten by a good horse race.

Everyone plays it. Some put all their stake on the black. The Gloomy Dean has nothing on them. If a soldier walks across the street in broad daylight there is going to be a bombardment of the city within an hour! If the newspapers mention that one of the "enemy" is making overtures of peace it only means that the said "enemy" is about to attack. Chungking has been taken away from Liu Tsen Hou at least three times since the tide there turned in favor of the North. But still he seems to remain there. No one blames them—the outlook for so many years has been so gloomy that their glasses are all smoked.

* * *

Actresses Organize

The actresses in Canton have organized a union. Among their proposed activities will be the issuance of a weekly paper to promote their interests.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

April 15, 1939.

Japan's Anti-British Campaign

Showing the widespread and organized character of the agitation against Britain and British interests in China which the Japanese have lately been conducting in this country through the medium of their puppet governments and local administrations, posters of an anti-British nature were discovered last week posted on walls in the western part of the Shanghai International Settlement, which is adjacent to the territory administered by the Japanese-controlled City Government of Greater Shanghai.....

* * *

China—World Power

Evans Fordyce Carlson, writing on "The Unorthodox War Continues," said in part:

"When and if Japan commences the withdrawal of her troops toward the seacoast, as the result of the realization of these objectives by the Chinese, the latter will initiate the final or Chinese counter-offensive phase. China's main striking force has never been destroyed and stands ready to execute the final coup de main when the time is ripe.

"A nation can never be conquered so long as the people possess the will to resist. China still has that will. Both leaders and followers now have everything to gain and nothing to lose by continuing to resist. Moreover, this conflict has forced on China a social revolution which is progressive with an effectiveness which, under normal conditions, could not have been attained within another century.....The Giant stirs, and China has the prospect of becoming a great world power."

Dead End In Asia For The West

Andrew Roth

THE Western Powers are like a group of "Dead End Kids" in Asia. Their policies have brought them to a dead end. They scarcely seem to realize the impasse exists, much less know any exit therefrom.

The West knows it has suffered serious defeats. Recent Communist victories have so tipped the balance in Asia that they may well be among the leading reasons for the recent Soviet peace offensive. The Communist military and political victories in China make it virtually certain that all 450,000,000 Chinese will be under a Communist-led Government before the end of this year. In the elections in American-run Japan the Communists have boosted the number of their seats in Parliament from four to 36. The American-supported South Korean and Philippine governments are uneasy as sporadic Communist uprisings break out in various areas. In Viet Nam a Communist-led nationalist coalition harasses the few beachheads still retained by the French. In Burma and Malaya the governments find it difficult to extirpate insurgent Communist bands which began their uprisings last spring. In Indonesia the Dutch attack has precipitated a guerilla movement which seems likely to come increasingly under Communist influence. All of these Communist movements, of course, have taken considerable encouragement from developments in China.

While the Western powers are conscious of their setbacks, there does not seem to be any general realization that they are, to a very considerable degree, in a blind alley. Thus, many American military and political strategists feel that they can make up for American setbacks in China by allowing the conservative business elements in Japan to achieve enough of a comeback to make Japan an effective ally against the Communist-dominated mainland. By leaning toward the Japanese businessmen, however, the American authorities have helped push Japanese labor toward the Communists. In addition this policy has aroused the active fears of those countries formerly under the Japanese heel. In China, for example, reports of America's rebuilding Japan have been one of the most compelling factors pushing the intellectuals and even some industrialists—both of them strongly anti-Japanese—into the arms of the Communists.

Britain in Malaya is also threshing around in a dead end. Although upwards of 40,000 police and troops are harassing less than 5,000 predominantly-Chinese Communist insurgents, the rate at which the Communists are being rooted out is very low. In order to cut down the amount of support these guerillas are receiving, the British feel themselves compelled to root out large numbers of Chinese squatters, deporting some of them. This arouses the antagonism of much of the Chinese community which comprises over two-fifths of Malay's population. Furthermore, since virtually only the Malays volunteer in any numbers for the police and military forces suppressing the threat to Britain's position, the British government is hard put to resist demands by Malay leaders for special privileges for them. These privileges are certain to be resented by the Chinese. Britain feels compelled to act energetically in Malaya because its exports of rubber and tin produce over one quarter of Britain's dollar credits. But in fighting to preserve this "dollar arsenal", impoverished Britain has been compelled to make sapping police and military expenditures.

By its December attack on the Indonesian Republic, Holland plunged headlong along a route in which complete victory seems barred by the wall of Indonesian resentment and resistance and the only alternative now is complete withdrawal. Until December there always existed the possibility of a settlement which would enable Holland to retain its privileged economic position for probably at least a generation. Holland is a trading nation which has kept its comparatively high living standards by serving as an entrepot for Germany and by exporting Indonesian products to the United States and using the proceeds to finance its own imports as well as goods for sale to Indonesia. Although the Indonesians were not willing to permit Holland to retain its prewar *monopoly* position, they were willing to allow it a privileged position in exchange for political independence which they reckoned as more important. Many Indonesian nationalists have feared that complete economic independence would put Indonesia under the economic control of its Chinese minority.

* * *

ALTHOUGH the Dutch have captured a considerable portion of the leading towns in the area formerly under the Indonesian Republic since they launched their current offensive, they have met with more sabotage and guerilla resistance than they anticipated. Furthermore, the unprovoked Dutch attack has strengthened nationalist feeling, already very strong among the youth and the educated. To one who has spent any time in Indonesia nothing has been more unrealistic than the professed Dutch elation when it was clear that three Indonesian princes, Rajah Anak Agung, Tengu Mansur and Sultan Abdul Hamid II would go along with the Dutch, despite the attack. The latter two are aristocrats who have always been in the Dutch pocket because they feel their only hope of keeping their privileges comes from being obedient semi-puppets. Anak Agung is a brilliant young opportunist who has tried to run both with the Indonesian nationalist hares as well as the Dutch imperialist hounds but who, in the last analysis, has decided that as a Rajah his privileges are threatened by a republican regime which proved to be strongly anti-feudal in his native Bali. But such allies can do little if any good; there are comparatively few aristocrats and many nationalists in Indonesia. Dutch military expenditures last year amounted to US$500,000,000—almost twice what Holland received in ECA aid. This year they seem likely to be higher without successfully "pacifying" Indonesia, a necessary prerequisite to its successful exploitation.

The Dutch have succeeded not only in antagonizing Indonesia nationalists and in aligning other Asian nationalists against them, but also in complicating the already difficult problems of other Western nations. The Indonesian Republican government depended on the US to protect them against the Dutch, and one of the reasons the Sukarno-Hatta government suppressed its own insurgent Communist opposition so enthusiastically last September was to prove to the Americans that they were sincerely anti-Communist. When the Dutch attacked and the Americans limited themselves to denouncing the Dutch and stopping ECA aid to Dutch-held Indonesia but *not* to Holland, many fence-sitting Indonesian and other Asian nationalists came to the conclusion that the US is more interested in anti-Communist imperialists than in anti-Communist nationalists.

Britain has been similarly embarrassed by the Dutch attack. Although the British had previously shifted from a fairly neutral position to one leaning toward its Western Union colleague, the Dutch attack complicated British relations with India and other former British possessions. The British, for example, had been working hard to cement relations with India, in the hope of keeping it within the Commonwealth. But India has taken the lead in aid for Indonesia, while Britain has discreetly supported the Dutch. In short, the Dutch attack in Indonesia has almost done as much to weaken Western influence in South Asia as the Communist victories in China have accomplished in East Asia.

In the meantime, the French have been rattling around in their own narrow cul-de-sac in Viet Nam. Despite an army of over 120,000 men and an annual expenditure of about US$400,000,000, they are too weak militarily to defeat the Vietnamese and politically they are too colonial-minded to give workable terms even to their favored puppet, Bao Dai.

In short, the West has come to a dead end in East and South Asia and shows no ability to extricate itself.

A West China Notebook

Lynn Chase and Amos Landman

BEYOND the coastal belt of China lies a vast country—gaunt, treeless mountains in Kansu, camel caravans in Chinghai, terraced rice paddies in Szechuen, primitive tribesmen in Yunnan.

West China, including the Central Asian province of Sinkiang, is populated by nearly 100,000,000 Chinese, Moslems, Tibetans, Mongols, Tartars, and others. It is a varied hinterland lying between Tibet, Soviet Siberia, Red China, Nationalist China, Indo-China, and Burma.

Technically, this tremendous tract is under the hegemony of Nanking. But as a practical matter, much of it is autonomous or semi-autonomous.

Thus, a big slice of China will not be immediately affected by the Communist-Nationalist peace negotiations now proceeding in Peiping, whatever their result.

Northwest Metropolis

The metropolis of Northwest China is a beige-colored city, Lanchow, in Kansu province. Its buildings are made of the baked earth on which the city stands, and are covered with a layer of dust of this same earth.

The city's sidewalks, like those of many Chinese cities, are a hub of commerce. Peddlers clutter them with dried raisins and apricots, garish Sinkiang rugs, Turkestan caps, cotton piece-goods from Shanghai, and scores of other wares.

Mule-drawn droshkies and work-carts—some equipped with pneumatic tires which are scarcer than gold in this area—raise clouds of dust no matter how slowly they move.

Just outside the city along the Yellow River, giant wooden water wheels stand motionless, waiting for the spring rise which will start them turning and irrigating the fields.

And in villages along the Yellow River are children so poor that they are naked from the waist down, despite the paralyzing cold.

Not far away, in East Kansu and Shensi, are the battle lines of the Communists and Nationalists. If the Reds win, then what?

Wu Hua-fu, Kansu Highway Commissioner, and Gustav Soderbom, a Swedish businessman who has spent most of his life in China, are convinced that the Communists can never take and hold the Northwest. The Chinese, they say, are individualists and will never submit to the Communist organization of society.

Then you talk to Catholic and Protestant missionaries, to a Turki rug merchant and an American businessman, to the Chinese themselves. They ask that their names be withheld, then they speak frankly:

The Chinese are fed up with war; they go to incredible lengths to avoid conscription; even the most unsophisticated look upon the Central Government as the cause of high taxes, corruption, and instability. Many peasants would actually welcome the Reds, the businessmen and missionaries agree.

Only the Moslems, whose anti-Communism has a religious basis, will fight. They are a minority, but they hold direct military control of Chinghai and Ninghsia provinces, and indirect control of much of Kansu.

The Moslem who dominates the Northwest is General Ma Pu-fang of Chinghai. We spent a day jouncing over rutted roads to call on him in his exotic capital, Sining, 150 miles west of Lanchow.

The moment you cross into Chinghai, an arid, mountain-studded tract bigger than Texas, you see evidence of impressive public works. Everywhere young trees have been planted—60,000,000 in the last five years, we learned later. Roads have been improved, irrigation projects built, wool-processing plants set up, and clinics opened. Even free schools have been established—a rarity in China today.

By discreet inquiry, the other side of the coin is revealed. Ma Pu-fang is the absolute ruler of the province. He holds a monopoly in most important enterprises, including the wool industry, we were told by merchants and others. Taxes are said to be exorbitant. One source reports that Ma drafted — without pay—some 40,000 peasant men and women to repair some bridges which were washed out by a flood.

Interview With Ma

Thin-whiskered, imposing Ma Pu-fang, whose bearing is such that he gives the impression of being four or five inches taller than he actually is, found time for an interview one 7:00 a.m.

So great is his hatred of the Communists, he said, that he will fight to the last man. But he also despises the Central Government. He attacked Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for sending him only a trickle of arms and ammunition. If acting-President Li Tsung-jen makes peace with the Communists, he continued, he will ignore the peace. He called for American aid.

The concensus is that Ma Pu-fang's Moslem troops will fight. and fight well. Those we saw drilling in Sining were easily the sharpest-looking soldiers we have seen in China.

But Ma's 100,000 troops are spread thin on a line from Tihwa, nearly 1,000 miles west of Sining, to the Shensi front, about 400 miles east. Following a recent conference in Lanchow of the governors of the Northwest provinces, Ma drafted enough men for another division. This does not change the picture materially.

The soldiers have little artillery. Their small arms are of half a dozen varieties, creating a supply problem. They have no arsenal. General Claire L. Chennault's airline, Civil Air Transport, just flew them 50 tons of American aid program munitions, but the arms stock remains low. Northwest China, far away on the Central Asian highland, appears beyond the reach of effective American help, assuming such help is tendered.

Chinghai's hope seems to be that the Reds will not now expend the men to storm the Sining River valley, the main entrance to the province. It is a narrow defile which a small force could hold for a time.

Similarly situated as to arms is Ninghsia province, whose governor is another Moslem warlord, Ma Hung-kwei. Ma Hung-kwei, however, is closer to Red territory, has a smaller percentage of warlike Moslems in his army, and does not enjoy the same natural defenses as Chinghai.

Both Mas represent a Moslem minority ruling a non-Moslem majority. According to reliable, neutral sources, the latter has little or no desire to fight.

Chungking And Chengtu

Five hundred miles south, in the heart of Szechuen province, are Chungking, China's wartime capital, and Chengtu, provincial capital.

Mayor Yang Shen of Chungking, a former warlord, tells you the people fear the Communists, but that if acting-President Li Tsung-jen makes peace, Szechuen will accept it. There is, however, one proviso: should Chiang Kai-shek reject a peace consummated by Li Tsung-jen, Yang believes that China's rich provinces, including Szechuen, would support the Generalissimo.

Two others, General Hsu Szeping, Secretary-General of the Chungking Pacification Headquarters, a military area embracing four huge provinces, and a high official of the provincial government in Chengtu, both acknowledge that the peasants are fed up with war.

The Chengtu Garrison Commander and chief of the secret police, Lieutenant-General Yen Hsiao-fu, denounces the Communists, but says he is willing to string along with the Central Government in its peace-making efforts.

The position of the officials falls into perspective as you talk to others. General Hsien Teh-sen, an official of the outlawed Democratic League, and a wealthy landlord living in a hilltop mansion 1,000 feet above the Chialing River, in Chungking, declares, "the people urgently need and want peace."

Despite the government's order that political prisoners be freed as evidence to the Communists of good faith in peace negotiations, the staff of two Democratic League papers remain in jail, Hsien maintained. The reason Hsien himself is not there is that he is in his 70's, and that he was the teacher of many Kuomintang officials. This is China,

age and scholarship are venerated even among political enemies.

Missionaries and foreign consular officers confirm his statement that the people want an end to fighting.

You are told of abuses by the government. The peasant spends two or three days bringing his rice to tax collection offices, for taxes are paid in kind. Eating along the way is expensive for him. But sometimes when he turns in his rice he is told that the grain is inferior, and that he cannot be given full credit for it. He has no recourse.

Then the tax rice is often sold to speculators—sometimes government officials—who dump it on the market at harvest time, depressing the price the peasant receives for his grain. A few months later, when the peasant has to buy rice for food, the price will have soared.

A Chinese recites a jingle commonly used to describe the public attitude toward government officials:

"Meet and not discuss;
Discuss and not decide;
Decide and not act;
Act and not show strength"

Men In Uniform

Despite the talk about peace, soldiers are omnipresent. At first, because they are so unmilitary-looking, one does not take much note of them. But then you become aware that wherever you go, however you travel, there are always men in uniform.

In Lanchow, there are no customs officials, so soldiers inspect your luggage. On the Chinghai-Kansu border, it is they who check travellers (asking us for calling cards rather than passports). In Chungking, Chinese Air Force planes were flying passengers about the country —for pay. In Chengtu, there were no coolies to load a commercial plane, so soldiers were ordered to do the job.

Hanchung, a walled city in South Shensi, is jammed with troops who have been evacuated from Sian, where the war is going badly for the Nationalists. Military traffic on the highway from Szechuen to Hanchung, Sian, and Lanchow is reported heavy. Soldiers ride truck convoys around Kunming to protect them from bandits.

Seven new divisions are being conscripted in Chungking, five in Yunnan, in addition to the one in Chinghai.

Officials declare the new units are to be used only if peace negotiations fail. But the men appear dispirited and lackadaisical. A former colonel in the Chinese army who has travelled all over West China says that neither rookies nor veterans have the slightest desire to fight. He adds that even high officers cannot support their families on their pay.

With few arms and a populace which may become ugly if an attempt is made to force it to carry on the war, West China can only await the inevitable.

When the Communists get ready to move, the rugged terrain will be the most important and, some say, the only factor to slow them down.

Plebian Rights:

China's Suicidal Factors At Work

A MIDNIGHT CRY (午夜呼聲)

OF all the suicidal factors at work in this pseudo-democracy of ours, the trampling of people's rights has been the greatest. The Government has muzzled free speech and press, imposed heavy taxes, monopolized commercial enterprises and indulged in the wanton issue of banknotes. In so doing, it has alienated itself from the people, without whose support no government can long survive.

Professors Wen I-to and Li Kung-po were assassinated in Kunming because of their outspoken attacks on the corruption of the bureaucrats. Gestapo and secret service men have been so omnipresent in cities in the interior that the owners of teashops and restaurants, in order to prevent any untoward incidents, had notices posted on their walls reading: "Refrain from talking politics. By order of the Gendarme Corps." Even in Shanghai men and women have been secretly whisked away by the Gestapo on the pretext that they were either communists or anti-Kuomintang and have been heard of no more. As late as last May, disappearances under the guise of suppressing communism were frequent in Shanghai, but in reality the victims' only crime if it could be called a crime, was to oppose official corruption.

These activities silenced public opinion, and innocent people, once they were kidnapped by the secret agents, had little recourse. Many a respectable family was terrorized and its only alternative was to take flight to Hongkong. The activities of the myriad illegal and semi-legal organizations drove hundreds of innocent citizens to foreign asylums.

The Bill of Rights remained a dead letter in spite of the promulgation of the Constitution on December 25, 1947. There was, for example, the Peking student tragedy, in which 14 students died under rifle and machine gun fire and more than 100 were wounded.

No more did the Constitution safeguard the right to freedom of the press. On July 8, 1948, the *Hsin Min Pao*, an independent Nanking newspaper with a 20 year history and the largest circulation in the city, was permanently suppressed on charges of violating Article 21 of the Publication Law by "disseminating propaganda and attempting to discredit the National Government." This Law reads: "No publication may print anything which seeks to overthrow the Kuomintang or is in contradiction to the Three People's Principles." However, this law was supposed to be valid only during the Tutelage period and is in contradiction to Article 171 of the Constitution, which declares that "Any law which comes into conflict with the Constitution shall be null and void." Twenty-four writers and jurists in Shanghai lodged a bitter protest over the measure, and even a member of the Legislative Yuan, Liu Pu-tung, termed it "excessive," but the order has never been rescinded.

The basic duty of a democratic government is to provide its people with food, or at least to facilitate their getting food by means of trade and industry. But our feudal and dictatorial regime, by its stringent import restrictions and surcharges, its wanton issue of banknotes unsupported by monetary reserves, its commandeering of the means of transportation for the army and many other like measures, has managed to strangle the commercial and industrial life of the people. Government-sponsored or state-owned enterprises such as the Central Trust of China, the China Vegetable Oil Corporation, the China Textile Industries, the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company and a host of others have been given favored and powerful positions to the detriment of private merchants. These state-owned enterprises have not had to pay taxes, and they have been given an unlimited supply of capital, special facilities and privileges. How could the average businessman hope to compete with them? The pseudo-democratic government we have now is a government run by and for these vested interests—the militarists, bureaucrats and monopolists.

O China, China! Since thou hadst miraculously emerged from the pool of Manchu monarchic despotism, and, with the aid of America, thrown off the yoke of aggressive totalitarian Japanese dictatorship, thou shouldst have at once set thy house in order and relieved the miseries of thy hungry and victimized people. "The people," lectures Mencius, "are the most important element in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest (民爲貴社稷次之君爲輕)."

However, instead of discharging thy sacred duty, thou hast tolerated thy avaricious bureaucrats to skim the cream from the starving people. In the reshuffling of the functionaries thou hast, metaphorically speaking, "changed the medicinal decoction without changing the ingredient" (換湯不換藥), consequently the government has been corroded. "Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting." Howbeit, it is still "not too late to mend the enclosure, after the sheep is lost" (亡羊補牢尚未爲晚), if thou wouldst seize the opportunity. In order to rally the support and to bolster the confidence of thy people, wilt thou not dismantle thy hypocritical mask (假面具) by, as Mencius says, "collecting for them (the people) what they like, and not to lay on them what they dislike" (得其心有道所欲與之聚之，所惡勿施爾也).

Shanghai Drama Students:

The Stage Is Their School

Fred Rein

NEAR the end of Shanghai's North Szechuen Road, occupying two floors of a dingy, run-down four story building is the Shanghai Municipal Drama School, a small but influential institution that has taken a leading place in China's modern theater movement. Founded a few months after the close of the Japanese war it has, in spite of great financial handicaps, become one of China's important centers of professional theatrical training.

To the casual visitor the school's appearance is anything but imposing. Sandwiched in with a primary school on the first floor and a museum on the third, its dark halls and crowded, dilapidated classrooms show plainly the school's poverty. Much of its already insufficient space has been occupied as billets for government troops, and the small, poorly equipped stage would not do credit to an American grade school. But one has only to attend a performance in this tiny theater to realize at once that here is an organization with the highest standards of theatrical art. The excellence of the students' work proves the Shanghai Municipal Drama School to be an object lesson in achieving so much with so little.

Much of the driving force that lies behind the school's program is centered around its enthusiastic and energetic president, Dr. Hsiung Foo-hsi. Formerly head of the Drama Department at the Peiping College of Fine Arts, Dr. Hsiung has long been recognized as a leader in the Chinese modern theater. A playwright of importance who sees the theater as potentially a strong force for social education, he has devoted most of his time and energy in recent years to the training of young playwrights, directors, and actors. While the theater, along with other cultural activities, has suffered severely under the present distressed conditions, Dr. Hsiung is confident that the modern realistic drama, through its ability to deal with contempory problems, has an important future in Chinese life. A small man of tremendous vitality he quickly infects his listeners with his enthusiasm. It is this same enthusiasm that is evident in all the school's activities; a determination and drive that enables the teachers and students to overcome many of the handicaps of poverty.

Actually, the school is "municipal" only in the sense that the teachers' pitifully small salaries are paid by the city government. As far as all other expenses are concerned, it must be self-supporting. To meet these expenses, including those of feeding and housing its students, the school is dependent on the box-office receipts from its productions. As a result they present plays almost continuously. Each show runs about three weeks, and the house is dark only a very few nights a month. While such a situation does place demands upon their budget that no educational institution should be forced to meet, it has, through grim necessity, developed high standards in the schools' productions and a keen, professional attitude toward their work on the part of all the students. This intensive practical experience combined with the theoretical background they receive through their class work gives the students a sound realistic approach to the theater.

Unfortunately, the meagre income that the box-office provides is seldom enough to go around. Production expenses are cut drastically on many occasions, and the students' standard of living is extremely low. For the most part they are undernourished, their slim diet insufficient to meet the needs of their heavy program of work and study. Ironically enough, most of the almost 200 students come from families of means, but, because of the low regard in which the theatrical profession is held by many Chinese today, they receive no support from home for either their studies or their living. It is clear that it takes a great sense of purpose, a strong belief in what they are doing to leave comfortable homes for an existence which offers them so little in the way of material necessities. A large part of this devotion comes from their belief in the theater as an educational medium. Like many of the modern theatrical workers in China they think of the theater as a constructive social force as well as a form of entertainment.

At present the school offers a two year course covering most of the branches of theatrical art. Playwriting, directing, acting, and design are the major fields of study. In addition, there are offered courses in theater history, both Chinese and European, as well as background courses in music and the other arts. The students frequently have opportunities to work with visiting directors from some of Shanghai's motion picture companies. While the total faculty includes about 18 members, it is relatively few of these that are able to devote their full time and energies to the school. It is on the shoulders of Dr. Hsiung and a few others, such as Mr. Chiu Si, the Professor of Scene Design, and Mr. Wu Tien, the Professor of Playwriting and Dean of Students, that most of the responsibility for keeping things going rests. It is this small group of men that work tirelessly with the problems of production, student welfare, budget stretching, and general administration.

For the most part the audiences for the school's productions are drawn from the surrounding neighborhood of Hongkew. "When we first began," says Dr. Hsiung," our audiences were very small, but they have grown larger, and many members of the community take a very gratifying interest in our work. As they are really our supporters we have a responsibility to offer them the best modern drama that we can." Acting on this principle the school is growing towards more of a unity with the community. At present Mr. Chiu and Mr. Wu are forming an organization among the patrons of the theater, a sort of a "play-goers club" that they hope will bring the audiences closer to the work and stimulate an interest in the school's activities.

Mai Kan (麥 桿)

Until recently a large percentage of the graduates were absorbed into the local film studios, but current bad conditions have cut down employment a great deal in that field. In an effort to cope with this situation, Dr. Hsiung has organized a group of recent graduates that is now rehearsing a play in one of the school's rooms. They hope to present it shortly in the school's theater, and, if it is successful, go on to establish an independent company of their own.

The uncertain conditions that prevail in China today make it hard for one to foresee the future of any organization. What lies ahead for the Shanghai Municipal Drama School is as open to speculation as anything else in this uncertain world, but, if past performance is any indication, it has the ability to survive and grow under the most trying conditions. Dr. Hsiung and his coworkers have ambitious plans for the coming years, but many of them are dependent on whether the institution receives the economic support it so richly deserves. In any case the school's devotion to the basic principles of art and service should stand it in good stead during whatever lies ahead.

Siam: Cockpit Of Anglo-American Interests

H. C. K. Woddis

(Reprinted from the Eastern World)

SIAM is increasingly becoming a focal point in South East Asia, as she was on the eve of the Second World War. Then it was the rival interests of Britain and Japan which were predominant. Today it is the interests of Britain and the United States that dominate Siamese policies.

Recently Mr. MacDonald, High Commissioner for Southeast Asia, flew to Bangkok for talks with Pibul Songgram, the Siamese Premier. Pibul is the man who opened the gates of Siam to the Japanese in 1941, declared war on Britain and America in 1942, and accepted the rank of Major-General in the Japanese Army. He has been repeatedly denounced as a war criminal. He was placed on the war criminals' list by the first postwar Government of Siam. The authoritative Chinese paper, *Ta Kung Pao*, called for his punishment in 1945. . . .

Pibul's rise to power has only become possible through the backing he has received from outside. After the war there was a succession of governments in Siam. It had been assumed by Britain that the United States would regard that country as in the "British sphere of influence," but an American nominee, Momrajawong Seni Pramoj, who had been Minister to Washington during the war, was flown back to Siam to become Premier on September 17, 1945. He did not last long, however, and in March, 1946, Nai Pridi Phanomyong, who was more friendly disposed to the British Government, became Premier, to be replaced several months later by Luang Thamrong Nawasawat.

Coup d'Etat

For a time it seemed that with the Thamrong Government the people of Siam would enjoy democratic government. There was, however, unbridled corruption throughout the entire administration, and in the Government itself. Living conditions did not improve and racketeering increased. Both Royalists and Fascists took advantage of this situation to wage a vigorous campaign against the Thamrong Government. The effect of this drive undoubtedly contributed greatly to the seeming indifference towards the coup d'etat which put the Thamrong Government out of office in November, 1947.

The coup d'etat of November, 1947, was planned and carried out by Pibul, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Fascist leader, in unity with the Royalists, grouped in the Democrat Party, and led by Khuang who then became Premier, only to be ousted later by Pibul himself. Pibul represents the profiteers and black-marketeers who made huge fortunes during the Japanese occupation. It is alleged that financial aid was forwarded to Pibul prior to the seizure of power from the American Embassy via the Chinese Embassy which is supposed to have actually handled the transactions. Khuang is a wealthy compradore and landowner and represents these same groups. Thamrong and Pridi represented a liberal group of capitalists who looked more towards the British Government than the United States. . . .

Immediately after the coup d'etat there arose acute differences between the Royalists and Fascists, based on the economic rivalry of the two groups. Khuang had succeeded in excluding the Fascists from the Cabinet and set about gaining control of banking and rice in Siam. The Pibul group had bought large interests in the Bank of Ayuthia. Khuang had this Bank and others closed, thereby widening the Royalist-Fascist rift. Khuang also attempted to gain control of all rice mills in Bangkok—he already owned about half of them. But this scheme was blocked by two strikes successfully carried out by the workers acting in agreement with the owners of the threatened mills.

Khuang Returned

An election was held in February, 1948, and the Khuang Government was returned. The Fascist Party (Tharmathipat Party) formed shortly after the coup d'etat, gained no seats whatever. A rally held under the slogan "Pibul for Premier" on February 8 was an utter flop. Some idea of the attitude of the people towards the political scene may be gained from the fact that only 27 percent of eligible voters participated in the elections.

Khuang continued as Premier for a month, only to be ousted by Pibul. The vote of confidence in the Pibul Government taken on April 21, 1948, showed 70 in favor, 26 against, and 67 abstentions.

American support had been given to Khuang by the payment of several million dollars for deliveries of tin, although this payment had been withheld from the Thamrong Government. While supported by the United States Government, Khuang, a rabid Americanophile, lacked the political skill and force which Pibul possesses. Accordingly, America chose Pibul—and Pibul became Premier.

To gain mass support, Pibul has been insidiously encouraging the rather strong anti-Chinese feeling that exists in Siam. Attempts are being made to weaken Chinese influence in commerce by granting special rights to an ex-servicemen's organization controlled by Pibul. In addition, almost all Chinese schools have been closed, and a number of Chinese arrested. The reasons for the anti-Chinese campaign are understood more clearly when it is realized that the 3,000,000 Chinese form one of the most politically alert sections of this 18,000,000 strong nation. The majority of them are workers and form the backbone of the progressive trade union movement. Further, a majority of Chinese nationals in Siam are highly critical of the Chiang-Kai-shek regime, and are bound to be greatly influenced by the Communist victories in China.

British and American interest in Siam is not hard to understand. One look at the map will explain that. To the south lie Malaya and Indonesia now in the midst of war; to the east is Viet-Nam in a similar plight; to the west is Burma torn by civil war; and to the north, China.

These political and strategic considerations brought Mr. Malcolm MacDonald recently to Siam so soon after the Southeast Asia Conference in Singapore. . . .

But there are other considerations, too, that Mr. MacDonald must have had in mind when he stepped off the plane at Bangkok. Siam's 800,000 tons of rice exports a year make it a major source of rice supplies in Southeast Asia, especially now that Burma is in the throes of civil war. Siam also has tin, rubber, pearl fisheries and teak wood, and abundant supplies of cheap and relatively poorly organized labor. Further, Siam is an important market for British goods.

Rival Interests

Formally independent, Siam in reality has for many years been the pawn of the Big Powers. Up to 1945, British and Japanese influence was paramount. Today it is mainly that of Britain and America. It is this interplay of rival interests which largely explains the extreme instability of Siamese governments. Siam has had no less than 22 cabinets in 16 years—nearly half of them since 1945.

Britain's interest in Siam is a long-standing one. For 16 years an Englishman, Doll, has been supervising Siam's finances. For many years Siam's tin has been exported to Malaya for smelting. And trade, banking and teak have remained largely in British hands.

At the end of the Second World War, British business interests in Siam seemed secure. But meanwhile American businessmen had been entering the field. Pibul found no difficulty in adapting himself to the Americans. A report in the *New York Times* stated last summer that he was "friendly towards the Americans and welcomed American trade and business undertakings in Siam." The facts certainly bear out this contention. Before the war there were two American firms in Bangkok. Now there are 30. The tin ore which formerly went to

British-owned smelters in Malaya, now goes direct to Longhorn, Texas, US. The Americans are buying up rubber, rice and other raw materials. It is intended to open up an American branch bank in Bangkok, and so loosen the British monopoly on foreign loans for various projects, and already an American company is engaged in enlarging the airdrome near Bangkok to a size where it will be possible to accommodate the largest aircraft. There is a virtual monopoly held by American Airways on all transport lines connecting Siam with the outside world. A continual increase in imports of American mass-produced goods is adversely affecting numbers of small businesses in Siam, especially around Bangkok, and American films and magazines are to be seen in increasing numbers. The Siam Foreign Office has an American adviser, Mr. Patton, who is consulted on all major policy questions.

Southern Provinces

It has been alleged that in order to prevent the stability of the American-directed Pibul Government, British agents have fomented discontent among the Malay population in South Siam—Patani—and unrest has reached considerable proportions. There is adequate reason for this unrest, for the Patani Malays are subject to extortion by corrupt officials. There are no schools provided for them though many of them can speak no Siamese. There have been reports of religious persecution, too. Although the leadership of the Malay nationalist movement in Siam is similar to that of the UMNO in Malaya, the movement is an expression of the just demands of an oppressed national minority for cultural autonomy. British agents are said to have supplied the Patani Malays with arms and have trained detachments of them in Malaya. It is worth noting that the *New York Herald Tribune* reported on December 2, 1948, that 5,000 badges, carrying crossed krises (daggers) surmounted by the Union Jack, with the words "New Malaya" in English, had been engraved in Singapore, allegedly for a secret organization plotting a revolt in Siam's four southern provinces.

Undoubtedly the events in Malaya itself will influence both the British Government and Pibul as to how they handle the question of the four southern provinces; and doubtless this was one of the matters discussed by Pibul when Mr. MacDonald flew to Bangkok. Meanwhile Pibul, in quaint defiance of all geography, has assured a British correspondent that he "considers Siam as one of the *Western* (sic!) nations in the present conflict with the Communist East." Such assurances as these have no doubt weighed heavily with the British Government. It is reported that military equipment sufficient for eight battalions will be supplied to Pibul by Britain, as well as £5,000,000 worth of railway equipment, which also has its obvious military uses.

The Week's Business

DURING the first few days of the week under review, quotations and prices increased very rapidly because of reports of crossing of the Yangtze by the Communists and the breakdown of the peace negotiations. However, during the last few days of the week, the tempo slowed down slightly because of more encouraging news from Peiping regarding the peace talks, reports of cessation of military operations by both the Nationalists and the Communists, and the comparatively tight money situation with the approach of salary and wage payments based on the cost of living index to be announced on April 15.

The increase of the price of rice was probably more serious than anything else, including gold, and showed the increasing demand for this staple food in view of the worsening political and economic situation. From March 31 to April 11, the price of rice rose from GY 95,000 to GY 440,000 per picul, an increase of 358 percent. Meanwhile, the price of silver gained by 350 percent, gold by 263 percent and US dollar notes by 257 percent.

On April 13, rice rose further to GY500,000 per picul, while gold closed at GY3,500,000 per ounce, silver at GY85,000 and US dollar notes at GY82,000.

According to well-informed circles, Shanghai requires 800,000 piculs of rice per month, of which 550,000 piculs are supplied by the rationing system and the remaining 250,000 piculs come from the rice merchants. For the months of May, June, July and August, Shanghai will need 1,000,000 piculs of rice in addition to the rationed supplies. According ing to present plans, the Central Bank of China will import 600,000 piculs of rice and the local rice merchants will be asked to supply the remaining 400,000 piculs needed for the four month period.

Meanwhile, quotations for gold slowed down considerably because of the dumping of large quantities of gold by the Central Bank, which was attempting to create a tight money stiuation. The interest rate rose to GY300 per mille per day on April 13. On April 11, it was reported that the Government Bank unloaded some 16,000 ounces of gold onto the market, and on the next day another 25,000 ounces were sold.

The price for silver dollars has increased because of increasing demand on the part of the general public. Although the silver dollar should be valued at about fifty US cents, it is now sold at a slightly higher price than one US dollar.

People have been buying silver dollars in order to preserve the value of their money for two days or one week until they have to spend it. Taking advantage of this large demand, the peddlers are selling silver dollars at high prices and charging different rates for different kinds of silver dollars. The "Big Head" (silver dollar with the picture of Yuan Shih-kai) is now the most popular kind of silver dollars, followed by the "Small Head" (silver dollar with the picture of Sun Yat-sen), "Boat Coin" (silver dollar with the picture of a Chinese junk), and the "Eagle Dollar" (the Mexico dollar).

In an attempt to centralize the business, the authorities are planning to open a market for the buying and selling of silver dollars. Meanwhile, measures are being considered to do away with the different rates for different kinds of coins.

In this connection, reports have been received here saying that silver dollars are being demanded by the Canton-Hankow Railway Administration for payment of freight and passenger charges and that Silver Dollar Scrip Notes are being issued by the Hunan Provincial Bank for circulation in Hunan Province. In Foochow, notes in values of one tou (one tou equals one tenth of a picul), two tou and three tou of rice are being issued for circulation.

Despite the high increase of commodity prices and financial quotations, businessmen and manufacturers find it more and more difficult to carry on their business because of the rapidly diminishing purchasing power of the people. It is reported that the local manufacturers and businessmen have formed several committees.

One committee aims to negotiate for a barter agreement with North China so that industrial products from Shanghai may be sent to the North in exchange for coal, soya beans, and other products. A second committee has been organized to study the problem of purchasing raw materials from abroad and selling local products in foreign countries so as to obtain the necessary foreign exchange for the import of raw materials.

A third committee will be organized to study the question of the cash shortage and to make suggestions to the financial authorities to improve the cash situation. It is reported that local factories and commercial firms will require no less than GY100,000,000,000 in cash notes for the payment of salaries and wages on April 15. So far, it is feared that the Central Bank will not be able to supply these large sums of cash notes.

The following list gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities on April 6 and 13:

	Apr. 6 GY	Apr. 13 GY
Gold	1,340,000	3,500,000
US Dollar	29,500	82,000
Certificate	26,000	58,500
Silver Dollar	27,500	85,000
20's Yarn	5,000,000	12,500,000
Rice	168,000	450,000
Wing On Textile	24.50	53.30

The Review's English Lesson—LXXVIII

THIS week, we shall use as our text an article by Louis Francis Budenz, titled "The Menace of Red China" (*Collier's*, March 19, 1949), which, in addition to some difficult expressions, also uses some interesting journalistic methods to persuade the reader to adopt the author's point of view. Unfortunately, space does not permit us to quote the article in full.

* * *

THE editor's introductory paragraph reads, **"The Communist avalanche that's rolling across China will gain momentum, smash across the Pacific islands and cover the United States—all according to the Soviet plan. The American public's apathy to this looming disaster is also a part of the plan—exposed here by one who took part in the plotting."**

That's: This contraction for "that is" is frequently used in conversation, but, in writing, it is better to write it out in full. A less awkward way to put it is, "avalanche now rolling...." Notice the verbs: **rolling, smash** and **cover:** all connoting violence, force, brutality.

Apathy to: Apathy toward is better.

Looming: An overworked word, used for any threatening, terrible event. A troubled, dark sky, threatening a violent storm, is said to be "looming over the horizon."

* * *

WE are off to a good start. The author, who, we learn later on in the story had a change of heart and resigned—or was pushed—out of the American Communist Party, will expose the nefarious plotting of the Kremlin against the United States, using vast China as a pawn in the process. The story is thus sure-fire (certain to succeed), since it invokes the terrifying image of a plot to conquer the US, upon the authority of one who has given up the system of belief he once held, and is now exposing it. The opening paragraph of the story proper begins, **"The Communist conquest of China, now dangerously near completion, long has been planned as a major milestone in Moscow's road toward creation of a Soviet America."**

Communist conquest—major milestone—Moscow's: Notice the use of alliteration as a rhetorical device, used to render the statement more effective.

Dangerously: Leaving this word out of the sentence removes much of the writer's opinion of the facts. One could say simply, "now near completion", and let the reader make up his own mind about the danger.

Milestone: Often used figuratively, as here, to indicate an important stage in the development of any plan; the phrase, "milestone on the path of progress", is now hackneyed (has been used so much that whatever original force it had is now gone).

Later on, we have: **"....the Soviet tenet that China is the master key to a Red White House."**

Tenet: An article of belief.

Master key: Usually, a key which opens all the locks of a building, etc. Here, the meaning seems to be the one key that will open the one door—that is, to the Sovietizing of America.

Red White House: A Soviet Government in Washington. Juxtaposing "Red" and "White" makes the contrast more forcible.

* * *

OFF on a side trip to Japan, the author quotes an editorial in a Moscow paper which **"predicted that 'the insensate policy of power-drunk American monopolies' in Japan would 'cost blood, the blood of the people.' But, it concluded, 'the national liberation movement in the Asiatic countries will drive the American imperialists out of all Asia, including Japan.'"**

Insensate: Brutish, without intelligence, here also implies greed.

Power-drunk: Made deliriously happy by the acquisition of great authority.

In Japan would: These three words, since they are outside quotation marks, are the author's summary of the original text between "monopolies" and "cost"; this part of the text may or may not have been important to the meaning of the passage, or may even have changed the meaning significantly, if it had been quoted in full. The reader does not know. This selection of certain passages, to take a trivial illustration, is much practised by New York theatrical producers, who often abstract the one word of praise from an otherwise scathing review of a play, and prominently display it in front of the theatre, thus fooling prospective ticket-buyers.

Further on, the author writes: **"Most Americans, during World War II, fell for the Moscow line that the Chinese Communists were not really Communists."**

Fell for: Accepted as true.

Masterminded: In, **"Browder masterminded the new China policy."** A "mastermind" is a supreme intelligence, a top leader, a strategist; used as a verb, the word means to direct, to organize, to plan.

Prior to: Has come to be used more and more as a pompous synonym for the word "before," especially in "officialese." Better avoid it.

Referring to Chou En-lai's proposal in 1946 to set up a coalition government, the writer says, **"(Everyone remembers the 'advantages' a coalition government gave Czechoslovakia.)"**

"Advantages": Quotation marks are often used to indicate the author's disbelief in, or ridicule of, the word or phrase thus set off. The writer thinks that what happened in Czechoslovakia after the change in government was bad; and implies that the same things would have happened in China, and would have been equally bad.

* * *

THE writer says a little later: **"Russia, after a six-day phony war with the Japs in Manchuria, disarmed 625,000 Nipponese soldiers and turned their weapons over to the Chinese Communists. That Russian-donated booty enabled the Chinese Reds to drive Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers out of Manchuria, North China, and to eventual surrender at Nanking."**

Phony: False, bogus.

This passage illustrates the convenience of leaving out facts which damage one's case. Here, the author is trying to prove that the Russians are entirely evil, for one thing because they turned arms over to the Chinese Communists in Manchuria. He neglects to mention the strenuous efforts made by the United States to get Nationalist soldiers, arms and ammunition to areas held by the Communists, to take over from the Japanese. This has been called the greatest airlift of men and materiel in World War II. Whatever the merits of this writer's case, this point is brought up to warn the reader to beware of taking half the facts as the whole case.

It is interesting to note that the writer already had the Nationalist Government surrendering at Nanking some time ago. Whatever his confidence that this would happen, he might have put it more carefully, so that the hasty reader would not jump to the conclusion that the Nanking Government had actually surrendered.

British-owned smelters in Malaya, now goes direct to Longhorn, Texas, US. The Americans are buying up rubber, rice and other raw materials. It is intended to open up an American branch bank in Bangkok, and so loosen the British monopoly on foreign loans for various projects, and already an American company is engaged in enlarging the airdrome near Bangkok to a size where it will be possible to accommodate the largest aircraft. There is a virtual monopoly held by American Airways on all transport lines connecting Siam with the outside world. A continual increase in imports of American mass-produced goods is adversely affecting numbers of small businesses in Siam, especially around Bangkok, and American films and magazines are to be seen in increasing numbers. The Siam Foreign Office has an American adviser, Mr. Patton, who is consulted on all major policy questions.

Southern Provinces

It has been alleged that in order to prevent the stability of the American-directed Pibul Government, British agents have fomented discontent among the Malay population in South Siam—Patani—and unrest has reached considerable proportions. There is adequate reason for this unrest, for the Patani Malays are subject to extortion by corrupt officials. There are no schools provided for them though many of them can speak no Siamese. There have been reports of religious persecution, too. Although the leadership of the Malay nationalist movement in Siam is similar to that of the UMNO in Malaya, the movement is an expression of the just demands of an oppressed national minority for cultural autonomy. British agents are said to have supplied the Patani Malays with arms and have trained detachments of them in Malaya. It is worth noting that the *New York Herald Tribune* reported on December 2, 1948, that 5,000 badges, carrying crossed krises (daggers) surmounted by the Union Jack, with the words "New Malaya" in English, had been engraved in Singapore, allegedly for a secret organization plotting a revolt in Siam's four southern provinces.

Undoubtedly the events in Malaya itself will influence both the British Government and Pibul as to how they handle the question of the four southern provinces; and doubtless this was one of the matters discussed by Pibul when Mr. MacDonald flew to Bangkok. Meanwhile Pibul, in quaint defiance of all geography, has assured a British correspondent that he "considers Siam as one of the *Western* (sic!) nations in the present conflict with the Communist East." Such assurances as these have no doubt weighed heavily with the British Government. It is reported that military equipment sufficient for eight battalions will be supplied to Pibul by Britain, as well as £5,000,000 worth of railway equipment, which also has its obvious military uses.

The Week's Business

DURING the first few days of the week under review, quotations and prices increased very rapidly because of reports of crossing of the Yangtze by the Communists and the breakdown of the peace negotiations. However, during the last few days of the week, the tempo slowed down slightly because of more encouraging news from Peiping regarding the peace talks, reports of cessation of military operations by both the Nationalists and the Communists, and the comparatively tight money situation with the approach of salary and wage payments based on the cost of living index to be announced on April 15.

The increase of the price of rice was probably more serious than anything else, including gold, and showed the increasing demand for this staple food in view of the worsening political and economic situation. From March 31 to April 11, the price of rice rose from GY 95,000 to GY 440,000 per picul, an increase of 358 percent. Meanwhile, the price of silver gained by 350 percent, gold by 263 percent and US dollar notes by 257 percent.

On April 13, rice rose further to GY500,000 per picul, while gold closed at GY3,500,000 per ounce, silver at GY85,000 and US dollar notes at GY82,000.

According to well-informed circles, Shanghai requires 800,000 piculs of rice per month, of which 550,000 piculs are supplied by the rationing system and the remaining 250,000 piculs come from the rice merchants. For the months of May, June, July and August, Shanghai will need 1,000,000 piculs of rice in addition to the rationed supplies. According ing to present plans, the Central Bank of China will import 600,000 piculs of rice and the local rice merchants will be asked to supply the remaining 400,000 piculs needed for the four month period.

Meanwhile, quotations for gold slowed down considerably because of the dumping of large quantities of gold by the Central Bank, which was attempting to create a tight money stiuation. The interest rate rose to GY300 per mille per day on April 13. On April 11, it was reported that the Government Bank unloaded some 16,000 ounces of gold onto the market, and on the next day another 25,000 ounces were sold.

The price for silver dollars has increased because of increasing demand on the part of the general public. Although the silver dollar should be valued at about fifty US cents, it is now sold at a slightly higher price than one US dollar.

People have been buying silver dollars in order to preserve the value of their money for two days or one week until they have to spend it. Taking advantage of this large demand, the peddlers are selling silver dollars at high prices and charging different rates for different kinds of silver dollars. The "Big Head" (silver dollar with the picture of Yuan Shih-kai) is now the most popular kind of silver dollars, followed by the "Small Head" (silver dollar with the picture of Sun Yat-sen), "Boat Coin" (silver dollar with the picture of a Chinese junk), and the "Eagle Dollar" (the Mexico dollar).

In an attempt to centralize the business, the authorities are planning to open a market for the buying and selling of silver dollars. Meanwhile, measures are being considered to do away with the different rates for different kinds of coins.

In this connection, reports have been received here saying that silver dollars are being demanded by the Canton-Hankow Railway Administration for payment of freight and passenger charges and that Silver Dollar Scrip Notes are being issued by the Hunan Provincial Bank for circulation in Hunan Province. In Foochow, notes in values of one tou (one tou equals one tenth of a picul), two tou and three tou of rice are being issued for circulation.

Despite the high increase of commodity prices and financial quotations, businessmen and manufacturers find it more and more difficult to carry on their business because of the rapidly diminishing purchasing power of the people. It is reported that the local manufacturers and businessmen have formed several committees.

One committee aims to negotiate for a barter agreement with North China so that industrial products from Shanghai may be sent to the North in exchange for coal, soya beans, and other products. A second committee has been organized to study the problem of purchasing raw materials from abroad and selling local products in foreign countries so as to obtain the necessary foreign exchange for the import of raw materials.

A third committee will be organized to study the question of the cash shortage and to make suggestions to the financial authorities to improve the cash situation. It is reported that local factories and commercial firms will require no less than GY100,000,000,000 in cash notes for the payment of salaries and wages on April 15. So far, it is feared that the Central Bank will not be able to supply these large sums of cash notes.

The following list gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities on April 6 and 13:

	Apr. 6 GY	Apr. 13 GY
Gold	1,340,000	3,500,000
US Dollar	29,500	82,000
Certificate	26,000	58,500
Silver Dollar	27,500	85,000
20's Yarn	5,000,000	12,500,000
Rice	168,000	450,000
Wing On Textile	24.50	53.30

The Review's English Lesson—LXXVIII

THIS week, we shall use as our text an article by Louis Francis Budenz, titled "The Menace of Red China" (*Collier's*, March 19, 1949), which, in addition to some difficult expressions, also uses some interesting journalistic methods to persuade the reader to adopt the author's point of view. Unfortunately, space does not permit us to quote the article in full.

* * *

THE editor's introductory paragraph reads, **"The Communist avalanche that's rolling across China will gain momentum, smash across the Pacific islands and cover the United States—all according to the Soviet plan. The American public's apathy to this looming disaster is also a part of the plan—exposed here by one who took part in the plotting."**

That's: This contraction for "that is" is frequently used in conversation, but, in writing, it is better to write it out in full. A less awkward way to put it is, "avalanche now rolling...." Notice the verbs: **rolling, smash** and **cover:** all connoting violence, force, brutality.

Apathy to: Apathy toward is better.

Looming: An overworked word, used for any threatening, terrible event. A troubled, dark sky, threatening a violent storm, is said to be "looming over the horizon."

* * *

WE are off to a good start. The author, who, we learn later on in the story had a change of heart and resigned—or was pushed—out of the American Communist Party, will expose the nefarious plotting of the Kremlin against the United States, using vast China as a pawn in the process. The story is thus sure-fire (certain to succeed), since it invokes the terrifying image of a plot to conquer the US, upon the authority of one who has given up the system of belief he once held, and is now exposing it. The opening paragraph of the story proper begins, **"The Communist conquest of China, now dangerously near completion, long has been planned as a major milestone in Moscow's road toward creation of a Soviet America."**

Communist conquest—major milestone—Moscow's: Notice the use of alliteration as a rhetorical device, used to render the statement more effective.

Dangerously: Leaving this word out of the sentence removes much of the writer's opinion of the facts. One could say simply, "now near completion", and let the reader make up his own mind about the danger.

Milestone: Often used figuratively, as here, to indicate an important stage in the development of any plan; the phrase, "milestone on the path of progress", is now hackneyed (has been used so much that whatever original force it had is now gone).

Later on, we have: **"....the Soviet tenet that China is the master key to a Red White House."**

Tenet: An article of belief.

Master key: Usually, a key which opens all the locks of a building, etc. Here, the meaning seems to be the one key that will open the one door—that is, to the Sovietizing of America.

Red White House: A Soviet Government in Washington. Juxtaposing "Red" and "White" makes the contrast more forcible.

* * *

OFF on a side trip to Japan, the author quotes an editorial in a Moscow paper which **"predicted that 'the insensate policy of power-drunk American monopolies' in Japan would 'cost blood, the blood of the people.' But, it concluded, 'the national liberation movement in the Asiatic countries will drive the American imperialists out of all Asia, including Japan.'"**

Insensate: Brutish, without intelligence, here also implies greed.

Power-drunk: Made deliriously happy by the acquisition of great authority.

In Japan would: These three words, since they are outside quotation marks, are the author's summary of the original text between "monopolies" and "cost"; this part of the text may or may not have been important to the meaning of the passage, or may even have changed the meaning significantly, if it had been quoted in full. The reader does not know. This selection of certain passages, to take a trivial illustration, is much practised by New York theatrical producers, who often abstract the one word of praise from an otherwise scathing review of a play, and prominently display it in front of the theatre, thus fooling prospective ticket-buyers.

Further on, the author writes: **"Most Americans, during World War II, fell for the Moscow line that the Chinese Communists were not really Communists."**

Fell for: Accepted as true.

Masterminded: In, **"Browder masterminded the new China policy."** A "mastermind" is a supreme intelligence, a top leader, a strategist; used as a verb, the word means to direct, to organize, to plan.

Prior to: Has come to be used more and more as a pompous synonym for the word "before," especially in "officialese." Better avoid it.

Referring to Chou En-lai's proposal in 1946 to set up a coalition government, the writer says, **"(Everyone remembers the 'advantages' a coalition government gave Czechoslovakia.)"**

"Advantages": Quotation marks are often used to indicate the author's disbelief in, or ridicule of, the word or phrase thus set off. The writer thinks that what happened in Czechoslovakia after the change in government was bad; and implies that the same things would have happened in China, and would have been equally bad.

* * *

THE writer says a little later: **"Russia, after a six-day phony war with the Japs in Manchuria, disarmed 625,000 Nipponese soldiers and turned their weapons over to the Chinese Communists. That Russian-donated booty enabled the Chinese Reds to drive Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers out of Manchuria, North China, and to eventual surrender at Nanking."**

Phony: False, bogus.

This passage illustrates the convenience of leaving out facts which damage one's case. Here, the author is trying to prove that the Russians are entirely evil, for one thing because they turned arms over to the Chinese Communists in Manchuria. He neglects to mention the strenuous efforts made by the United States to get Nationalist soldiers, arms and ammunition to areas held by the Communists, to take over from the Japanese. This has been called the greatest airlift of men and materiel in World War II. Whatever the merits of this writer's case, this point is brought up to warn the reader to beware of taking half the facts as the whole case.

It is interesting to note that the writer already had the Nationalist Government surrendering at Nanking some time ago. Whatever his confidence that this would happen, he might have put it more carefully, so that the hasty reader would not jump to the conclusion that the Nanking Government had actually surrendered.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Peace Talk Breakdown Narrowly Averted; Reds Mass On Yangtze

WIDESPREAD confusion, extreme nervousness and wild speculation prevailed in Nationalist China last week. A series of highly disturbing events have happened on the political, military and economic fronts. The threatened breakdown of peace negotiations in Peking, the much-rumored split inside the Kuomintang on the question of peace, mounting Communist pressure along the north bank of the Yangtze River and the sensational depreciation in the value of the Gold Yuan notes combined to convey the impression that all this added up to something exceedingly disastrous.

The Kuomintang-Communist peace talks which began on April 1 are understood to have bogged down. Two weeks have passed and yet the delegates are still engaged in informal preliminary discussions. It is not known when a formal conference will start. Rumors were persistent that the Communists had presented an ultimatum to Nanking and demanded a yes-or-no answer by April 12.

According to well-informed sources, the Communists demanded an immediate crossing of the Yangtze River in the course of current peace negotiations in order to supervise the implementation by the Government of the eight terms set forth by Communist leader Mao Tze-tung.

* * *

Exchange Of Messages

Acting President Li Tsung-jen made a direct appeal to Communist chairman Mao Tze-tung. Said he: "I will accept without evasion the severest punishment, even being burned in oil or dismemberment as a so-called war criminal for past mistakes which are still hindering peace."

Mao in reply said that the Communists were ready to adopt "lenient policies" in the current peace talks, which, however, must be "based on the liberation of the Chinese people and the realization of peace." Mao's reply read as follows: "By concretely realizing the eight terms it will not be difficult to reach a correct settlement. This applies also to the question of war criminals. If the peace talks are based on the liberation of the Chinese people and the realization of peace our party is willing to adopt lenient policies.... For the purpose of liberating the Chinese people, safeguarding the independence of the Chinese nation, and ushering in a period of prosperity and happiness for the people you and we must quickly conclude an agreement. The Chinese Communist Party is willing to cooperate with all patriotic elements to accomplish this tremendous achievement."

The exchange of messages between Li Tsung-jen and Mao Tze-tung is said to have averted an immediate breakdown of the peace talks. A responsible official in Nanking told the press that many difficult points have already been "straightened out." The only important problem remaining in the preliminary discussions, according to an official source in Nanking, is the reorganization of the Kuomintang armies. It is understood that the Communist interpretation of the reorganization includes permission to bring Communist forces south of the Yangtze River after a peace agreement is signed to supervise the reorganization. Non-acceptance of this by the Nationalists to date is believed to have held up the opening of formal talks. It also has delayed implementation of a cease-fire along the Yangtze line, which is said to have been reached in Peiping on April 3.

* * *

Reds On The March

THE Peiping Communist radio openly announced that three Communist field armies were actively preparing to cross the Yangtze River with the objective of realizing peace on the terms of Mao Tze-tung. It is reported that the three armies in question are the 2nd, 3rd and 4th field armies. The first two armies were formerly known as the Central China and East China liberation armies while the 4th field army is composed of General Lin Piao's veterans from Manchuria.

Nationalist forces south of the Yangtze are estimated by the Communists at about 300,000 along the lower reaches and 200,000 along the middle reaches. These forces are regarded by the Communists as somewhat smaller than those destroyed in the Hsuchow battle and their combat power is thought to be much lower.

Several important Nationalist bridgeheads along the north bank of the Yangtze have already fallen into Communist hands. Communist occupation of Yicheng, 25 miles northeast of Nanking, and their assaults against Kwachow pose a serious threat to the Nanking-Shanghai Railway. Military observers point out that Communist artillery mounted in the Kwachow region could not only sweep the Nanking-Shanghai Railway where it bends close to the Yangtze south bank but could also bring Chinkiang under bombardment. Chinkiang is the provincial capital of Kiangsu and the pivotal defense center protecting the communication corridor between Nanking and Shanghai.

A strong Communist force under General Chen Yi is reported to be attacking Nationalist positions on the Yangtze north bank opposite Wuhu, 60 miles southwest of Nanking. One report said that the Communists penetrated into Silingshan township, 25 miles south of Wuhu on April 10 but were subsequently beaten back.

The present battle for the bridgeheads along the north bank of the Yangtze is generally regarded as a softening up process, which will pave the way for a Communist cross-over. Military observers still find no positive indication of how soon a major assault across the Yangtze will take place. It is noted that the possibility of attaining this objective by political means is an important factor in delaying the crossing.

* * *

Closing On Hankow

THE situation in Central China has caused considerable concern because of the rapid Communist drive on Hankow. The official military news agency in Nanking reported that the Nationalist forces are falling back on Hankow under the attack of Lin Piao's Manchurian columns. The government announced the loss of Hokow and Yaochiatze, with Nationalist forces retreating to Changchuanlin, 36 miles north of Hankow. It was further reported that Communist troops have taken Sishiu 55 miles east of Hankow. Government forces are also falling back before the big Yangtze port of Kiukiang, 230 miles southwest of Nanking. The Nationalists have given up Huangmei, 30 miles north of Kiukiang.

Competent observers attach tremendous political and strategic importance to the Communist drive on Hankow. The reason is quite obvious. For one thing, Central China, with Hankow as headquarters, is now under the control of General Pai Chung-hsi, a close subordinate of Acting President Li Tsung-jen. If General Pai under increased Communist pressure closed a political deal with the Communists on the pattern of Peiping, the whole Nationalist position south of the Yangtze would be rendered hopeless. Even if no political solution is possible, Communist occupation of Hankow by force would cut off the Canton-Hankow Railway, thus threatening the backdoor of the Nationalists. The fact that General Lin Piao's tough fighters have been thrown into the Hankow front is highly significant.

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Mass Arrest

INDICATIVE of the tense situation in Nationalist China is the

frequently reported rounding up of people on charges of engaging in subversive activities, or violating martial law. In Taipeh, more than 200 students were arrested on suspicion of instigating student riots and demonstrations. An *AP* story dated April 7 from Taipeh said: "Troops armed with Thomson guns and rifles cordoned off tightly the compounds of Taiwan University and Taiwan Normal College and blocked all traffic on streets leading to the two institutions. Beginning from midnight, April 5, the whole garrison and police force were mobilized to spread an extensive dragnet over 21 'professional' students whose arrest was demanded. Closely linked with the surprise student roundup was the reported disappearance of two newspaper reporters. One paper said that both of the two were yanked out of bed and arrested early yesterday morning by plain clothes men.

More politically sensational is the arrest of two prominent members of the Legislative Yuan—Ting Shao-sien and Hsu Wen-tien. Legislator Ting, who described himself a liberal-minded man, said he was arrested at bookstore in a busy section of Nanking.

The Legislative Yuan took a serious view of the arrests, which were regarded as violating the constitutional rights of the Legislators. It is stressed that unless the incident is satisfactorily settled, the Legislative Yuan will call a "no-meeting" strike.

* * *

Collapse Of GY

THE Gold Yuan notes are having a much worse fate than the fapi. The alarming sky-rocketing of commodity prices in recent weeks is reminiscent of the last days of the fapi, when people went on a buying spree lest the paper money in their hands should become utterly worthless.

The rapid worsening of the economic situation and the ever-lowering of the living standard of the majority of the people have produced far-reaching political consequences. In this connection, a *Reuter* story dated April 10 from Nanking makes interesting reading:

"Hungry and bewildered by the latest staggering collapse of the inflated Nationalist currency, civil war refugees turned back today to the Yangtze river and looked hopefully across its waters towards their homes, now in communist-held territory, for economic relief.

"In long, patient queues they sat for hours at Nanking's ferry gate to recross the river on the restricted steamer service, and then trek north through the frontlines of the Pukow perimeter....

"The refugees said they understood the communists were not objecting to letting them return through the lines to their homes. They knew fighting had flared up again along the Yangtze, but they preferred the risk of crossing No Man's Land to starving in Nanking or Shanghai.

Military Matters

TYPICAL of the mood of United States Government leaders, the US House Appropriations Committee raised the armed forces budget to a peacetime record of US$15,909,116,800. This was over US$500,000,000 more than President Truman requested. Most of the increase was earmarked for the air force to build it up to 58 full groups.

In addition to financing its record peace-time military budget at home, the United States Government has promised to spend more money in the form of military aid to eight European countries in order to give teeth to the Atlantic Pact. It is understood these countries asked for assistance to "carry out a common defense program" the day after the Atlantic Pact was formally sealed. Secretary of State Dean Acheson stoutly denied rumors that the promised American military aid was a quid pro quo for these countries' joining the Atlantic Pact.

Unofficial estimates put the amount of military aid to these countries at US$1,250 or US$1,800 million in the first 12 months. The eight countries include Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Italy, Norway and Denmark.

But Congressional leaders are feeling uneasy about the proposed foreign spending. A warning from Truman's economic advisers gave economy-minded members of Congress new arguments to support their claim that more foreign spending might mean new tables of red ink on the government's books and perhaps "catastrophic" conditions at home.

Senator Wherry of Nebraska, the GOP floor leader, said that if the president asks for more money, Congress may have to choose between deficit spending or increased taxes.

Similarly, Chairman George, Democrat, of the Senate finance committee said he doesn't think the European arms program can be separated from the domestic defence program.

"It is logically impossible to talk about a military budget for ourselves and a separate military budget for the North Atlantic pact countries," George said.

Forrestal Suffers Nervous Breakdown

Former Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal is reported to be suffering from "occupational fatigue" at the Naval Medical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, where he was admitted April 2—five days after Louis Johnson succeeded him in the defense post—for a "routine" physical checkup.

Rear-Admiral N. L. Pugh, deputy chief of the Navy bureau of medicine and surgery, said Forrestal's affliction was the same as that suffered by many persons during the war and affects a person both "physically and mentally."

Radio Commentator Drew Pearson gave the following version of the former defense secretary's illness on his weekly radio broadcast April 10:

"I regret to report that James Forrestal, former Secretary of National Defense, is out of his mind and apparently has been partly so for some weeks. Forrestal's nervous breakdown came to a head in Hobe Sound, Florida, one week ago Friday, when two specialists were rushed down from New York.

"Forrestal was planning to get to Puerto Rico for a rest but was spending a few days at the Florida home of Averell Harriman. On that Friday night Forrestal became obsessed with the idea of Russians invading the United States and when a fire siren blew he jumped out of bed and had to be restrained.

"Later, the siren blew a second time and Forrestal then ran out of the house in his pajamas, screaming about the Red Army and it was with some difficulty he was caught and brought back into the house.

"He was given injections which put him to sleep for the next 72 hours. Next day Ferdinand Ebarstadt and John Cahill flew him back to the naval hospital in Bethesda, Maryland, where he has been under 24-hour watch with a guard in his room. Suicide has been feared.

"Forrestal's close friends held a meeting shortly after this tragic occurrence and took a pledge of strict secrecy. However, the tragic fact remains, and the public is entitled to know that during the recent weeks Mr. Forrestal served in the most powerful post in the nation he was not completely in his right mind.

"I hope very much Mr. Forrestal can take a long vacation and have a speedy recovery. But it's also to be hoped important decisions made while he possibly was not in his right mind should be reviewed."

Navy physicians said Mr. Forrestal was "progressing satisfactorily" and Rear Admiral Pugh said he had recently visited Forrestal at the hospital and he "talked very rationally."

Captain B. W. Hogan, acting medical officer in command of the hosptial, said Forrestal had lost 25 pounds in recent weeks and described his conditions as follows:

"At the present time he has a marked low blood pressure, a secondary anemia, and a neuromuscular weakness which is characteristically seen in states of exhaustion. His condition is directly the result of excessive work during the war and postwar years."

Meanwhile, Representative John Rankin, Democrat from Mississippi, told the House of Representatives that Drew Pearson should be banned from the air because of the statements he broadcast about Forrestal.

Chinese Magazine Roundup

University Review

THE Communist crossing of the Yangtze river is discussed in an article in the February 19 issue of the *University Review*. The magazine analyzes the forces at the disposal of the Government for the defense of the Yangtze and comes to the conclusion that the Communists cannot be prevented from crossing.

Turning first to the Government's naval forces, the article says: "At present a large part of the naval personnel and equipment has already been withdrawn to Canton and Taiwan. Some warships are even hiding far away in the Yulin harbor on Hainan Island. Ships of large tonnage cannot fight with ease in the upper reaches of the Yangtze, and now there is only a small fleet guarding Nanking and Shanghai. Moreover, Government troops at present are in control of only a few bridgeheads on the north bank. These points are held not so much to provide cover for a future naval battle as to gain time for troop dispositions on the south bank. Because of the narrow area of the surrounding country controlled and the difficulties in supply and reinforcement, they are untenable, and once they fall the fleet in the river will come within the range of Communist artillery.

"As for the air force, it is comparatively more effective in defending the river. It can bomb the Communist boats crossing the river and prevent the arrival of Communist reinforcements. It should be noted, however, that the Communists possess considerable anti-aircraft equipment and that if they attempt crossing at night the air force can do nothing to stop them. The responsibility for defending the river, therefore, will fall to the lot of the army.

"The battle for Hsuchow and the Hwai river has cost the Government 70 to 80 percent of its ground forces. The remaining forces which have retreated to the south bank of the Yangtze, estimated at over 300,000 men, are scattered along a line stretching from Wusung on the east to Wuhu on the west. Since it is impossible for this limited number of troops to defend every point on this long line, they have to concentrate on the defense of main points such as Fushan, Kiangyin, Chinkiang, Lungtan, Nanking, Tsishih, Tangtu and Wuhu. Because these points are far apart from each other and because there is great danger for the troops guarding one point in leaving their post to come to the rescue of another being attacked by the Communists, the Communists can break through the line by directing their attack at any point with overwhelming power."

The article concludes: "Thus it is unwise for the Government to try to defend the Yangtze when in actual fact it cannot keep the Communists from crossing the river. A safer course would be to abandon Nanking and Shanghai and then engage the Communists in a decisive battle on the plains south of the river. For the winning of the battle would assure the safety of the areas south of the river for a while, whereas the loss of the battle would not make impossible a withdrawal of part of the forces to the Chientang and the Chekiang-Kiangsi railroad line. It is from fear of losing prestige and because of the US and British interests at stake in the Nanking and Shanghai area that the Government refuses to adopt this strategy."

Analyzing the Communist strength, the article says: "The Communists, too, must have suffered heavy losses in the battle for Hsuchow and the Hwai river. However, by downright hard work and chiefly by incorporating surrendered Government troops into their ranks, they have quickly retrieved their losses. The Communists have enough local forces for the preservation of order in their rear and, if need be, they can afford to send all their regular troops to the front. Now the Communist forces available for the attack on the Yangtze include the 500,000 men under command of Liu Po-cheng, Chen Yi and Cheng Keng, and another 100,000 who have just come from the outskirts of Taiyuan and the Honan-Shansi-Hopeh border areas. If necessary, Lin Piao's troops can also come south to join in the attack."

The Communists also have forces south of the Yangtze, the article declares, "their bases being in the Huang mountains in south Anhwei, the Tien Mu mountains in west Chekiang, and the Shih Ming, Tien Tai and Kua Tsang mountains in east Chekiang. Their troops number over 10,000 in the Tien Mu, 20,000 in the Huang and many more in the mountains in east Chekiang. They have laid a good foundation for the crossing of the Yangtze by the Communist forces on the north bank."

* * *

China News

AN interesting article on the attitudes of leaders of the Northwest provinces on the subject of peace is carried in the February 11 issue of *China News*.

The magazine says: "There are three outstanding leaders in the Northwest: Ma Hung-kuei, a devoted Mohammedan and Governor of Ningshia; Ma Hung-ping, brother of Ma Hung-kuei and deputy commander of the Northwest Military and Political Headquarters; and Ma Pu-fang, governor of Chinghai. The Mas do not get along very well when it comes to internal issues, but they adopt more or less the same attitude towards the outside world. As a whole, owing to the liberal and tolerant policy of Chang Chih-chung, commander of the Northwest Military and Political Headquarters, they are all inclined toward the Central Government.

"Due to the peculiar topography of the Northwest, the tremendous Mohammedan influence, and the special political, military and economic system of the Mas, the Communists have never been able to get a vantage ground in the Northwest. During the war against Japan, the Communist Shensi-Kansu-Ningshia Border Region Government adopted a non-aggression policy toward the Mas, and the latter assumed the attitude that so long as the Communists did not come to bother them, they would not cross the border to disturb the Communists either. The Northwest is a Mohammedan country.... In a religious sense, the Mohammedans hate the Communists...The hard-hitting Northwest troops, like Ma Hung-kuei's 18th Army, Ma Hung-ping's 81st Army and Ma Pu-fang's 82nd Army (now commanded by his son Ma Chi-yuan), are all unswervingly loyal to the Ma family. The Communists, therefore, do not know what to do with them. Last year, for instance, they took a terrific beating from Ma Chi-yuan's cavalry division in East Kansu."

Now, however, the magazine continues, the Northwest provinces are beginning to feel increasing Communist pressure. "When Fu Tso-yi surrendered in Peiping," the article says, "Ma Hung-kuei and Ma Pu-fang sent their personal envoys there to unearth the truth about regional peace and sound out the Communist attitude towards the Northwest. Realizing that the peace terms arranged between the Communists and Fu Tso-yi were identical to unconditional surrender, they were both shocked. Consequently they wired Chang Chih-chung to return immediately to Lanchow to discuss the Northwest attitude toward war and peace."

A number of Northwest military and political leaders gathered with Chang Chih-chung in Lanchow on January 30, the magazine reports, and expressed the following views:

"Sinkiang presents no problem thus far. Tao Sze-yueh and Li Tieh-chun, Hu Tsung-nan's envoys to Sinkiang, advocated the strengthening of defense forces in Sinkiang to guard against invaders.

"...The opinions of the Northwest military and political leaders on the problem of war and peace boiled down to this: In deference to the Government's decisions, the Northwest provinces will not make regional peace with the Communists. If there is peace at all, it will be total, not regional, peace. Otherwise they will 'wait for a change and prepare for war to seek peace.'"

US Magazine Roundup

NY Times Magazine

PROFESSOR Alexander Meiklejohn discusses a problem before American educators today in an article in the March 27 *New York Times Magazine* entitled, "Should Communists Be Allowed To Teach?" Professor Meiklejohn, who is a former president of Amherst University, teacher, philosopher and author, answers this question in the affirmative. In an earlier article in the same journal, Professor Sidney Hook of New York University had argued that known Communist party members should not be allowed to teach in American colleges because, as adherents of the party "line," they are not free to seek the truth.

The reason for this controversy in educational and civil liberties groups is that three professors at the University of Washington have been dismissed and three others placed on probation over the Communist issue.

Professor Meiklejohn says through this action "the entire faculty is now on probation. Every scholar, every teacher, is officially notified that if, in his search for truth, he finds the policies of the American Communist party to be wise, and acts on that belief, he will be dismissed from the university."

"The general question," the professor continues, "is that of the meaning of academic freedom. But that question has three distinct phases. The first of these has to do with the organization of a university. It asks about the rights and duties of the faculty in relation to the rights and duties of the administration. And the principle at issue corresponds closely to that which, in the Government of the United States, is laid down by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Just as that Amendment declares that 'Congress shall make no law, abridging the freedom of speech,' so, generally, our universities and colleges have adopted a principle which forbids the administration to abridge the intellectual freedom of scholars and teachers. And, at this point, the question is whether or not the president and regents at Washington have violated an agreement, made in good faith, and of vital importance to the work of the university."

Professor Meiklejohn explains the "tenure system" advocated by the Association of University Professors and by most of the American universities, including the University of Washington. "That system," he says, "recognizes that legal authority to appoint, promote, and dismiss teachers belongs to the president and regents. But so far as dismissals are concerned, the purpose of the tenure agreement is to set definite limits to the exercise of that authority.

"This limitation of their power, governing boards throughout the nation have gladly recognized and accepted. To the Association of University Professors it has seemed so important that violations of it have been held to justify a 'blacklisting' of a transgressor institution —a recommendation by the Association that scholars and teachers refuse to serve in a university or college which has thus broken down the defense of free inquiry and belief."

Under the tenure system adopted by the University of Washington, Professor Meiklejohn explains, "after a trial period in which the university makes sure that a teacher is competent and worthy of confidence, he is given 'permanence' of tenure. This means that he is secure from dismissal unless one or more of five carefully specified charges are proved against him. And the crucial feature of this defense of freedom is that the holding of any set of opinions, however unpopular or unconventional, is scrupulously excluded from the list of proper grounds for dismissal."

But in the cases under discussion, Professor Meiklejohn points out, "the only charge made was that of present or past membership in the American Communist party. Specific evidence of acts revealing unfitness or misconduct in university or other activities was deliberately excluded from the prosecution case. And further, since the alleged fact of party membership was frankly admitted by the defense, the only question at issue was the abstract inquiry whether or not such membership is forbidden under the five provisions of the tenure code."

On that issue, Meiklejohn says, the faculty committee decided there were no grounds for dismissal, but the regents, on recommendation of the president, dismissed the two party members and went further to place the three ex-party members on probation for two years.

* * *

Communist Issue

MEIKLEJOHN next raises the question of whether the tenure code, as it now stands, is wise. He quotes President Allen of the University of Washington as saying that a teacher who is "sincere in his belief in communism" cannot "at the same time be a sincere seeker after truth which is the first obligation of the teacher."

On this point, Meiklejohn comments: "No one can deny that a member of the American Communist party accepts a 'discipline'.... Our question is, then, whether submission to that discipline unfits for university work men who, on grounds of scholarship and character, have been judged by their colleagues to be fitted for it."

Examining the inducements offered by the Communist party in attracting members to accept its discipline as compared with the disadvantages, Meiklejohn says: "On the one hand, as seen in the present case, the administration can break a man's career at one stroke. It has power over every external thing he cares for. It can destroy his means of livelihood, can thwart his deepest inclinations and intentions. For example, in very many of our universities it is today taken for granted that a young scholar who is known to be a Communist has not the slightest chance of a faculty appointment. He is barred from academic work. And, as against this, what has the American Communist party to offer? Its 'inducements' are the torments of suspicion, disrepute, insecurity, personal and family disaster.

"Why then, do men and women of scholarly training and taste choose party membership? Undoubtedly, some of them are, hysterically, attracted by disrepute and disaster. But, in general, the only explanation which fits the facts is that these scholars are moved by a passionate determination to follow the truth where it seems to lead, no matter what may be the cost to themselves and their families."

As for the matter of control of members by the Communist party, or by Moscow, Professor Meiklejohn says the only enforcing action the party can take is expulsion, that is, expulsion from a party which the individual joins of his own free will. "Under that form of control," he adds, "a man's acceptance of doctrines and policies is not 'required.' It is voluntary."

President Allen and his regents, the author continues, "misled by the hatreds and fears of the cold war.... are unconsciously tricked by the ambiguities of the words, 'control,' and 'require,' and 'free,' and 'objective.' The scholars whom they condemn are, so far as the evidence shows, free American citizens. For purposes of social action, they have chosen party affiliations with other men, here and abroad, whose beliefs are akin to their own. In a word, they do not accept Communist beliefs because they are members of the party. They are members of the party because they accept Communist beliefs. . . .

"Underlying and surrounding the Washington controversy is the same controversy as it runs through our national life. The most tragic mistake of the contemporary American mind is its failure to recognize the inherent strength and stability of free institutions when they are true to themselves."

What Chinese Papers Say

THE progress of the peace talks in Peiping was a major editorial subject in the Chinese press. The formation of a West German government also was touched on.

* * *

Peace Talks

THE *Ta Kung Pao* was hopeful that the talks would reach a successful conclusion if the Nationalists followed the lead of acting President Li Tsung-jen, but expressed concern over the attitude of the Legislative Yuan members in Canton. The paper said:

"The ultimate success or failure of the peace talks will hinge on one thing—sincerity . . . To cite an example. Up to the end of last week, the situation surrounding the peace talks was rather tense. The Communists demanded that a Joint Committee on the Peiping pattern be organized by April 12, failing which the Communist Army would immediately cross the Yangtze. For a time it did seem that the peace talks would be stalemated. But because Li Tsung-jen, in his message of April 8 (to Mao Tze-tung), showed sincerity and won a reply from Mao, a change came which enabled the peace talks to be continued. The *New China News Agency*, in a short commentary statement during the broadcast of Mao's reply, also acknowledged that Li seemed to have become more sincere in his hope for the success of peace. The *New China News Agency* is always severe in its criticisms, and though the commentary quoted concluded by saying that Li's sincerity would be judged by his future acts, it is a very rare case when the Communists have not entirely denied Li's sincerity.

"It is true that Li's sincerity has only made the continuation of peace talks possible, while the future of the talks are still surrounded with many difficulties so that it will be premature to foretell the final results, but sincerity has been proved to be genuine and mutual."

However, the paper noted, "the Legislative Yuan members who are remaining in Canton called a meeting on April 9, and took Li Tsung-jen to task by charging him with exceeding his authority and acting against the Constitution in stating in his message to Mao Tze-tung, that the Government had accepted the eight Communist conditions as the basis of the peace talks."

The *Ta Kung Pao* questioned this action on the part of the legislators, saying: "As a matter of fact, the use of Mao Tze-tung's eight conditions as the basis of the peace talks had the support of the Legislative Yuan at its meeting in Nanking, and was fully agreed to by the Executive Yuan. Moreover, the whole world knows that only by accepting Mao's eight conditions as the basis for discussion could the peace parleys have been initiated . . . Even Chiang Kai-shek, as Tsungtsai (Director-General) of the Kuomintang, has given his support to the talks. Li Tsung-jen's statement that he himself was prepared to undergo punishment as a war criminal, even to the extent of being scalded in boiling water, fully reflected his spirit of tolerance and patience in his earnest quest after peace."

The *Yi Shih Pao* felt the Government would not accept an unconditional surrender and that only by strengthening its defenses could it obtain better peace terms. "Our view," the paper said, "is that the greatest hope for the success of the peace talks does not lie in the acceptance of the eight Communist conditions, but rather in the determination to engage in a fight with the Communist Army if necessary."

* * *

Western Germany

THE agreement among the United States, France and Great Britain for formation of a Western German government was seen as a move that would intensify the cold war.

The *Chung Yang Jih Pao* declared: "Germany is the heart of Europe, and the highly developed industries of West Germany can help greatly to build up the anti-Communist fortress in Europe. The three western powers have officially signed an agreement, and the formation of the West German state will be realized immediately. It is easy to imagine the indignation on the part of the Eastern bloc.

"US Secretary of State Acheson has announced at this time, however, that the courageous actions of the Western allies have strengthened the possibilities for the peaceful settlement of the cold war with the Soviet Union. It is obvious that, in his opinion, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, to which is now added the West Germany agreement, constitute the real force that fills the vacuum in the weak regions of Europe. West Europe is now ready, and the time for the showdown is approaching. As a matter of fact, that formation of the West German state can only intensify the cold war between the East and the West."

The *Ta Kung Pao* felt that US policy in Western Germany would only serve to create a rift within the western nations. The paper said: "The numerous acts perpetrated by the United States in West Europe, high-sounding and imposing though they may be, are after all only gestures. Take the Atlantic pact, for instance. The principal question lies in whether the United States will guarantee immediate all-out aid to the European nations. From the beginning, the United States has made it plain that she will not underwrite any such undertaking. And British Foreign Secretary Bevin, recognizing the difficulty in changing this US stand, instructed the British ambassador not to insist on the point. But actually, what is more menacing to peace than the Atlantic Pact is the series of American moves in West Germany which are irking even her allies.

"The reconstruction of the Ruhr district was proceeded with under the slogan of resistance against the Soviet Union and prevention of Communism. Already, the people of West Europe are asking the question: If the West German Government that is to be elected soon will use the coal and iron of the Ruhr for an invasion of the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France and Belgium, what is to be done? And the sweating workers in the pits of the coal and iron mines of the Ruhr must also be asking themselves: First we labored for the Kaiser, and next for Hitler. Now for whom are we sweating?"

* * *

Pacific Pact

THE *Tung Nan Jih Pao* felt that a Pacific Pact would reflect, and contribute to, further deterioration in international relations and expressed belief that the outcome of the peace talks in China will have a direct bearing on the international situation in the Far East. The paper said:

"At the present moment, the country that is most ardent in her efforts to draw up a Pacific Pact is not the United States, but Britain (and her dominions), though there is no doubt that the United States will provide the final deciding force. Nevertheless, both Britain and the United States will be confronted with difficulties, for the problems connected with the Pacific Pact are far in excess of those encountered in connection with the Atlantic Pact. Britain will face nationalistic issues very complicated in nature, while the United States also will find it difficult to maintain the balance of power in Asia because of the China situation.

"We believe that neither Britain nor the United States is intent on a course which would lead to international conflict or war. As long as the Soviet Union will not use China as a stake in the international political game, as long as she will not exploit the nationalistic issues in Asia for her expansion in this part of the world, then there may be no need for the conclusion of a Pacific Pact. The Chinese people are shouldering an especially heavy responsibility. If we succeed in solving our own problems peacefully and bring peace to our country, then half of the crisis in the Far East will have been averted."

What US Papers Say

THE attitude of Republican congressmen toward America's China policy and the prospects for a peace settlement in China came under discussion in the American press. Comment also dealt with the situation in Burma and congressional appropriations for the European Recovery Program.

* * *

Republican Critics

EDITORIAL reaction to the efforts of Republican members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to increase American aid to China was varied. The *Washington News* sided with their views, saying:

"Republican members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, dissenting from the majority report on ERP, are sharply critical of certain trends in American policy. Their views cannot be dismissed as mere expressions of partisan bias.... They consider the proposed aid to China inadequate, which may be debatable. They hold that American policy in China has collapsed, which is not debatable. Our dismal failure in China may prove the Achilles' heel of American foreign policy as a whole. The President would do well to make clear that he appreciates the past contributions of the Republicans, and that he does not intend to ignore their views in the future."

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, however, declared: "It is simply playing partisan politics with the China question when Republicans on the House Foreign Affairs Committee charge that American policy in China has collapsed. What has collapsed in China is nothing less than China itself.... If Republicans want to be of service to the country in bringing a new China policy out of chaos, they can make a good start by approaching the problem as Americans and not as members of one or another political party."

The *Kansas City Star* adopted a wait-and-see attitude, saying: "Critics of the do-nothing attitude on China have not really offered anything definite in place of it. The conclusion can only be that they had nothing concrete to offer. It is right to concede that there has been a policy failure with respect to China.... Yet it is hard to see what can be done about these mistakes until the confusion in the area they affect has been dispelled. As soon as we have a clearer view of events in China then perhaps it will be possible to devise an intelligent plan for standing off the threatened sweep of Communism through the whole of the Far East."

* * *

Peace Settlement

THE *Christian Science Monitor* foresaw a long interim period before peace is finally realized in China. The paper said: "The negotiations arouse cautious hopes as well as skeptical reservations.... There may be many years of shifting adjustment, local fighting, hard bargaining before genuine and productive peace comes to China. But a start may conceivably be made at the present conferences, and neither a handful of American silver nor a handful of Moscow-trained Marxists is likely to reverse at this date the slow, inevitable force of Chinese compromise."

The *Baltimore Sun* suggested there were "grave doubts" that all of China would go along with a "dishonorable" peace settlement—a peace at any price. The paper said: "A large section of China is supposed to be staunchly behind Chiang, who is wanted by the Communists as a war criminal and who is therefore opposed to unconditional surrender. Those close to President Li claim that Chiang continues to interfere in the peace negotiations."

* * *

Burma Disorders

ANALYZING the troubles in Burma, the *New York Times* felt they are due to a number of reasons, among them the lack of good leadership, and deplored the assassination of one of the country's ablest men, Major General U Aung San, soon after Burma had obtained her independence. The paper said:

"The infant state of Burma is having hard going, its government is facing not one civil war but two, and at times three, civil and military insurrections simultaneously. The Treasury is bankrupt. The major export, rice, has not been restored because of commotion in the Irrawaddy delta. Rail transport has broken down. River transport is hazardous and repeatedly interrupted. Civil administration has disappeared frequently, and many units of the armed forces have mutinied and deserted. Cabinet crises are chronic, and another bloc of ministers resigned the day before yesterday. The Premier is reported to be negotiating with Communist rebels for a peaceful coalition.

"There are several reasons for this state of affairs, but one of the most cogent has usually been overlooked. It is quite true that some of the disorders are Communist-led and Communist inspired, for the very purpose of breaking down the orderly life of the community. But the Communists themselves are divided into two factions that periodically war upon each other and neither is in a position to take over the administration of a government for Burma.

"The Karens, a large, intelligent and fundamentally conservative ethnic group, represent a separatist movement rather than an attempt to destroy or replace the government. They have, from time to time nd place to place, accepted help from one or another Communist faction, but on a temporary basis and with no thought of genuine union with the Communists. Recently the Karen rebellion has been pointed out as the chief cause of Burma's woe. Again, this is only partly true; and true largely in reverse. The Karens are pushing their separatist demands because of the breakdown in Burma. The breakdown is not primarily the result of the separatist demand.

"Another suggestion frequently made is that Burma undertook to go her independent way too soon and that she should have relied for a longer period of tutelage on the association with the British Crown and the Commonwealth. That, again, is true only in a very limited sense, since an orderly Burma, although independent, could have asked for and received substantial British Commonwealth assistance.

"The factor that has been overlooked is Burma's lack of real top-flight leadership. And those leaders are lacking, at this time, because they were murdered within six months after Burma became independent. Burma is paying a fantastically high price for the senseless assassination of Maj. Gen. U. Aung San and most of the ablest men in his Cabinet.

"General Aung San, among the modern Burmese, stood easily first in his ability to command and inspire a popular and a military following. He was regarded in the United Kingdom as a man of both great ability and great integrity, to whom leadership could well and safely be entrusted. He was cut down by the disgruntled head of a splinter political group for no better reason than malice and envy. His assassins could not conceivably have imagined that they could replace him. His successors in the Government have been unable to fill the gap caused by his death and the slaughter of most of his Cabinet."

* * *

ERP Authorizations

THE *Washington Star* hailed the Senate's refusal to permit a reduction in the funds asked for continuation of the European Recovery Program and declared that the pace of the program should not be slackened. The paper said:

"The bipartisan coalition in the Senate which has beaten down the attempt to cut the European recovery authorization is in line for congratulations . . .

This is not time to waver in pressing forward to the goal. Almost certainly, we are entering upon a period that will be decisive in determining whether the Communist threat is to be successfully turned back."

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Chinese Politics

CHINA BELONGS TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE. *By Ho Chih-Hsiang. With Forewords by Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, United States Ambassador to China, and Maj-Gen. Victor W. Odlum, former Canadian Ambassador to China. Published by the Commercial Press, Limited, Shanghai, 1948. 518 pages. Reviewed by Donald Roberts.*

THE title of this book is timely, and so would the book be also if it were published at the moment in the United States. Even a good book in English published in China does not reach the public it deserves. This book by Mr. Ho, with its forewords by the present United States Ambassador and the former Canadian Ambassador, has merits that commend it to those who are interested in China. The author is a Chinese writing to encourage his own countrymen. He has been active in journalism for 20 years past, for *The China Press*, *The China Weekly Review*, and the *Central News Agency*, for the last of which he is now correspondent in Moscow. He is also the translator into English of the Chinese Constitution, as published with the Chinese text in 1947 by the Commercial Press. His experiences have given him a point of view not duplicated by many European or American reporters of the Chinese political scene.

One of the merits of "China Belongs to the Chinese People" is the great amount of fresh thought the author has given to the solution of China's political problem which, as he sees it, calls for the end of one-party rule, and for an agreement such as General Marshall sought without success. The course of events, except for the crumbling of Kuomintang power, is aptly foreseen by the author when he writes on page 272:

"The Chinese Communist Party today has become the second largest party in China. If it can struggle patiently and persistently, the future of its peaceful development will be unbounded. By all means, it must not show itself intolerant of small matters and thus bring ruin upon itself.

"This piece of advice deserves the most serious consideration by Mr. Mao and his comrades. They must be liberally minded enough to admit that they can be wrong, as any human being is liable to be. In human affairs there is no such thing as infallibility. In a way, the future of the Chinese nation lies in the outlook and activities of the Communist Party. The future of 450,000,000 Chinese people is not a matter for a few individuals or a political party to gamble with, even though they are armed."

The book is diffuse rather than concise, and the author quotes freely and sometimes at length from the *Ta Kung Pao* and from various other sources of information and opinion for the events of the post-war years, but the assembled analyses of parties and conferences, and narrative of events give the book an enduring reference value. Two appendices, comprising the last hundred pages of the book, bring together very useful material not conveniently found elsewhere: Important points of the discussions between the Government and the Communist Party representatives in September and October, 1945; Agreements adopted by the Political Consultation Conference held in Chungking in January 1946; Text of the Constitution of the Republic of China adopted December 25, 1946; Text of the Administrative Policy Program of the National Government, issued on April 17, 1947. So, too, the texts of two of President Truman's statements on China, of December 15, 1945 and December 19, 1946 are given; also of General Marshall's report to President Truman, published on January 7, 1947; of documents, too, relating to the Wedemeyer Mission; and of William C. Bullitt's "Report on China," as reprinted in *Time* magazine of October 13, 1947.

Chinese Life

A CHINA MANUAL. *Edited by Neville Whymant. Published by the Chinese Government Information Office, 51 New Cavendish Street, London, W.1. 1948. 352 pages. Price 10s. Reviewed by Donald Roberts.*

IT will surprise some, as it surprised the reviewer, to learn that such a book as "A China Manual," edited by Neville Whymant, has been published by the Chinese Government Information Office in London. The book is the outcome of the publication of a series of pamphlets on Chinese life and culture during World War II. It is a manual, as its name tells, and is full of factual information "presenting China in a nutshell."

For the reader mainly interested in Chinese culture the six chapters on Chinese geography, history, classics, philosophy, art, and education are splendidly concise and comprehensive. All six are written by the editor himself, for whom they were a labor of love; his admiration for Chinese thought and life being finely intelligent and discriminating. The aim, as he puts it, is "to lead men to think, rather than to tell them what they should think." The remaining four chapters, out of ten in all, are on the Kuomintang, the writer not named; on agriculture by Y. L. Wu; on industry by Dr. C. S. Chen; on co-operatives by Lu Kuang-mien; the material being full and well presented.

There are 21 full pages of good illustrations, mostly photographs. There are good selected bibliographies for the chapters on history, agriculture, art, and philosophy. An index is unfortunately lacking, and there is unnecessary repetition of lists of the Chinese dynasties. There are some minor mistakes, like Escatra for Escarra, and Pott and Hawks for Hawks Pott; and under education a presumably full list of universities is given, but St. John's University is omitted. But *A China Manual* makes an excellent reference of compact size for anyone's private library shelf.

Civil Liberties

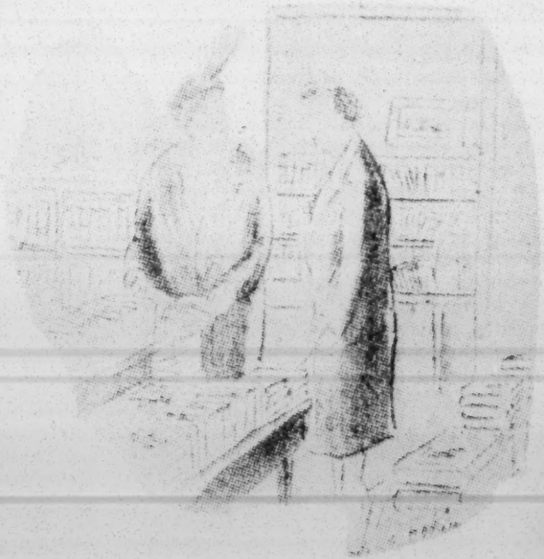
NEW THREATS TO AMERICAN FREEDOMS, *by Robert E. Cushman. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 143. N.Y. Public Affairs Committee, 1948. 32 pages. U.S.$.20.*

War by its very nature is a menace to civil liberty. Normally wartime suppression of civil liberty is recognized as an emergency measure, but when war ends efforts must be made to discard military authority and return to the peacetime freedoms.

This pamphlet is a warning against present tendencies by Dr. Cushman, professor of government at Cornell University and a leading authority in the field of civil liberties. Although he confines his thesis to the United States, the danger he describes is world-wide. The difficulty arises from postwar fears, uncertainties, and suspicions.

No citizen of a state, says Dr. Cushman, can allow the civil liberties of any group in the community to be abridged, however strange and new, without endangering his own civil liberties. There must be no confusion of intolerance with patriotism.

These timely pamphlets of the Public Affairs Committee fill a popular educational need.



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